

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* was held on Monday, May 29th, at half past six, P.M., at the London Tavern. Samuel Gurney, Esq., M.P., President of the Society, occupied the chair. There was a very numerous and respectable attendance, amongst whom we noticed

Wm. Allen, Stafford Allen, Arthur Albright, Robert Alsop, Thomas Binns, Samuel Bowly, Edward North Buxton, A. Burr, Stephen Bourne, Thomas Bourne, Wm. Beck, Richard Beck, Wm. Brewin, Thomas Blain, Robert Brook, Wm. Bennington, Wm. Ball, and John Baker, Esquires; the Rev. Dr. G. L. Boardman (Syracuse); Levi Coffin, M. D. Conway, Joseph Clark, B. H. Cadbury, Phipps Cooper, Thomas Dann, Samuel Eliot, and John Elgar, Esqrs.; the Rev. J. E. Eggleston (Newark, New Jersey); Joseph S. Fry, Samuel Fox, Alfred Gilkes, Joseph Gilpin, George Stacey Gibson, Charles Hayward, and Thomas Harvey, Esquires; Mons. H. Granville (Chargé d'Affaires, *ad interim*, for Hayti); the Rev. J. Gallaway; John M. Knight, Esq.; the Rev. Cramond Kennedy; J. Lee, and Edward Lucas, Esquires; the Hon. C. C. Leigh (Delegate from the National Freedmen's Commission, New York); William Matthews, and John Morland, Esquires; M. McSwiney, Esq. (Sheriff of Berbice); George Palmer, John Pryor, Robert Rennison, George Ringer, and Wm. P. Reed, Esquires; the Rev. H. Richard; Gerard Ralston, Esq. (Consul-General for Liberia); Henry Sterry, Thomas Smith, and Charles Smith, Esquires; the Rev. Elias Schrenk

(Agent of the Basle Missionary Society); the Rev. C. Sibley (Jamaica); the Rev. Dr. Storrs (Delegate from the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, Cincinnati); Mons. Victor Schœlcher and Dr. F. Tomkins; Frederick Wheeler, Charles Wilson, and Charles Borham Warner, Esquires; the Rev. Dr. John Waddington; and many others.

The CHAIRMAN called upon the Secretary to read the Report, an abstract of which only was presented. We subjoin the Report *in extenso*.

REPORT.

THE year which expires with the issue of the present Report, must ever occupy a foremost place in the annals of the anti-slavery movement. Twelve months ago, Your Committee, in recording the coming into operation of the Dutch Government Emancipation Act, which liberated nearly 50,000 slaves, and the self-emancipation by flight, or in consequence of the action of the United-States' armies, of more than one million and a half of the slave-population of the South, felt encouraged to declare their belief that the final triumph of the principles your Society advocates, could not long be delayed. The most sanguine prophet, however, durst scarcely have predicted, that within the brief period of twelve months, Slavery, within the geographical limits of the United States, would be virtually abolished; the rebel armies of the South broken up and dispersed, the Slave-holders' rebellion totally crushed and trodden out, and its chief a captive in the hands of the Government he had revolted against. Yet so rapid has been the march of events, that these may now be considered as accomplished

facts, while there is reason to hope that in Brazil and in Cuba the day of freedom for the slave is also not far distant.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The Blue Books on the Slave-trade, for the year terminating on the 30th September 1862, had not been issued when Your Committee last addressed you; but a summary of their contents was published in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for July. The papers for the twelvemonth ending on the 30th September 1864 have been again most inconveniently delayed this year; although, fortunately, the time of their publication has been so far advanced, as to enable Your Committee to summarize the evidence contained in them for the present Report.

CUBA.—The only Trans-Atlantic market for African slaves is Cuba. The total number introduced into the island for the two years ending on the 30th of September 1864, is reported to be 12,612, of whom 3806 were subsequently recaptured by the local authorities. The detail for each year is: for 1863, landed, 7507; recaptured, 826; for 1864, landed, 5105; recaptured, 2980.

If the smallest reliance could be placed upon the accuracy of these official returns, then the recorded importations for the last two years, exhibiting so remarkable a diminution as compared with those for preceding years, would be a highly encouraging circumstance with regard to the future; but, unhappily, these statistics are notoriously incorrect. Upon this point, the opinion of Her Majesty's Acting Commissary Judge at Havana, as conveyed in his annual report for 1864, may be here quoted. Mr. Crawford says:

"It would be rather fabulous to suppose that no African negroes have been imported into Cuba during the last twelve months; and I have no doubt whatever, in my own mind, that a good many cargoes have been introduced; but it is impossible to arrive at any just estimate of the numbers imported.

"Much greater secrecy prevails every day in such matters; and it is extremely difficult to obtain information, as slave-trade operations are now principally carried on by Companies of wealthy individuals, the outfits being made in Barcelona, Cadiz, Bordeaux, or Marseilles.

"The recent change of ministry in Spain is expected to lead to General Dulce's removal; and already counting that such will be the case, and that his successor will be more accessible, the slave-traders have resumed their former activity, and it is rumoured that numerous adventures have been started, chiefly from Europe, where

more suitable vessels can be obtained, and where they can be fitted out more readily, and with less suspicion than here. . . . Provided with swifter steamers, and being sure of the concurrence of the local authorities in this island, the slave-trader scorns all difficulties or dangers."

Nevertheless, Your Committee desire to believe that there has really been a marked decrease in the trade since the arrival of General Dulce, who is reported to have proceeded with unprecedented vigour against certain noted slave-traders, as also against all officials whom he had reason to suspect of collusion with them.

How far such or similar measures are likely to prove efficacious, may be judged of from another expression of opinion, on the part of Mr. Crawford, contained in this same despatch to Earl Russell. He says:

"If we are to expect the speedy abolition of the slave-trade between this island and Africa, we must look to other expedients than to those which have been put in practice up to the present time.

"If Spain really wishes to prove her sincere desire to put an end to the slave-trade, let her declare it piracy, and let her enact a penal law such as that which is recommended by the late lamented Consul-General in his despatch of the 16th of June last."

BRAZIL.—It is highly satisfactory to Your Committee to be able to record, that there is no indication of a revival of the African slave-trade to Brazil. This branch of the traffic has now been extinct for nearly fourteen years. Since the unfortunate suspension of diplomatic relations between the British and the Brazilian Governments, official communications have been discontinued, but on the 26th of February 1863, Mr. W. D. Christie, then British Minister at Rio de Janeiro, wrote to Earl Russell, in the following terms:

"On two cardinal points on which I early expressed decided opinions to your Lordship, my opinions remain unchanged: there is no possibility of a revival of Brazilian slave-trade; and there is no sign of effort or preparation for the abolition of slavery."

Upon the latter point, Your Committee will comment in proper place; upon the former, the testimony is unanimous. It is alleged, however, that the Brazilian Government is insincere in its determination to keep the African slave-trade suppressed, and that, were that very offensive enactment, known as the Aberdeen Act, repealed, the traffic would at once be revived; for it is further asserted, that to the operation of that measure the disappearance of the slave-

trade to Brazil is due. Your Committee do not coincide in this view, but are convinced that without the honest and spontaneous efforts of that Government the trade could not have been extinguished; and as a proof of the determination, in this respect, of the Emperor himself, the following statement may be quoted:

One Manoel Pinta da Fonseca, who had amassed a fortune amounting to 840,000*l.*, chiefly by slave-trading, was prosecuted for this offence. The Prime Minister, the Marquis de Parana, was his intimate friend, and used his utmost influence to save him from the disgrace of condemnation and punishment, but to no purpose. Pinta de Fonseca was sentenced to banishment, and compelled to quit Brazil within a given time. He announced his intention of retiring to Portugal, where, by his immense wealth, and through his influential connections, he purposed to buy another name and a title—as is often done—so that under these the ignominy resting upon him should be obliterated. But the Emperor, learning his intention, wrote an autograph letter to the King of Portugal—his own nephew—setting forth the facts, and placing him on his guard against Fonseca, whose object was thus effectually frustrated.

The latest official return from Brazil, on the subject of the slave-trade, is dated the 28th of February last. Mr. Austin, Acting-Consul at Pernambuco, states that no slaves had been imported during the past year. Indeed, throughout the Brazilian empire this has become the stereotyped report from year to year.

Upon the continuance of the inter-provincial coast-wise traffic between the various ports of Brazil—which must obviously be the cause of much individual suffering—Your Committee have had to dwell in previous reports. They regret that the efforts of a distinguished Brazilian Senator, to carry a Bill for its abolition, have not hitherto met with success; but the opposition to the measure may readily be understood, proceeding, as it does, from parties interested in maintaining slavery, and who urge the greater expedition and economy of transporting slaves by sea, from one province to another, rather than by circuitous and almost impracticable overland routes. It is evidently a question to be solved only by the abolition of Slavery, of the evils and abuses of which it furnishes another sad illustration.

SOUTH COAST OF AFRICA.—A partial resumption of the traffic is reported from the Portuguese provinces on the coast of South Africa, whence it had been apparently extinguished. This circumstance is attributed to the inadequacy of the means for its suppression at the command of the Governor,

who is said to be most determined in his opposition to slave-trading, but whose efforts are constantly baffled. It does not appear, however, that more than one vessel, with 600 slaves on board, had succeeded in getting away within the year, and this ill-fated ship is reported to have foundered off the coast, with all hands. Benguella is asserted to be the only place on this part of the coast whence slaves are shipped for Trans-Atlantic consumption. In the course of his cruise along the coast, from December 1862 to February 1863, Rear-Admiral Walker noticed considerable numbers of slaves collected at this spot, and he says, that as “little legal commerce of any kind apparently existed, he inferred that the slave-trade was rife in that locality.” The latest reports affirm the existence of great discouragement amongst the slave-dealers on the coast, in consequence of the stringency of the measures to prevent them from carrying on their illicit traffic. At one time it was apprehended that a new form of slave-trade from the continent to the adjacent ISLAND OF ST. THOMAS would spring up, in consequence of the facilities which exist for shipping domestic slaves thither, and for their trans-shipment to Cuba. It has been satisfactorily demonstrated, however, that this transfer of domestic slaves has ceased; that it was, as far as possible, controlled by the issue of permits: no vessel could receive more than ten at each voyage; and lastly—which is perhaps the greatest protection as it is the strongest argument—that the price of a domestic slave in Loanda is too high to allow a margin of profit sufficiently large to cover the risks incidental to a run to Cuba. Moreover, the Portuguese Governor is notoriously as adverse to the trade as Her Majesty's Commissioner himself.

WEST COAST OF AFRICA.—The chief resort, south of the Equator, of slavers on the look out for cargoes of negroes for the Cuban market, is the CONGO and its vicinity. This has been the case ever since the diminution of the traffic in the BIGHTS OF BENIN AND BIAFRA, on the WEST COAST, nor is it likely any amount of vigilance on the part of the cruiser-squadron will materially interfere with this illicit trade, so long as the demand for the Cuban market exists.

From the BIGHTS the reports are on the whole satisfactory, although slavers with full cargoes constantly succeed in evading the cruisers. The squadron had been unusually active, and effected a number of captures. Some three years ago the commanding-officer reported that the number of slavers captured in any given year, probably bore to those which escaped, the pro-

portion of one to five. How far this estimate may be correct, Your Committee have no means of judging; but unless the proportion of escapes to captures were exceedingly large, it would be impossible to account for the annual importations into Cuba. Rear-Admiral Sir Baldwin Walker estimates at 10,000 at least, the number of negroes which are every year now carried away from the West Coast.

EAST COAST OF AFRICA.—From MOZAMBIQUE and the East Coast of Africa, the trade in negroes may be divided into two sections; the first, carried on by Portuguese, and consisting of exportations for Cuba; the other of shipments for the Persian Gulf and adjacent places, and prosecuted by the maritime Arabs. As many as eight vessels with full cargoes are reported to have succeeded in getting away during the last two official years, whose destination was known to be the Spanish Antilles; but how many escaped, respecting which nothing whatever was known, cannot be even conjectured; though it is computed that as many as 3000 negroes, at least, are annually exported hence. Indeed, almost the only check upon the extension of the traffic in this quarter appears to be the competition for the Persian and Turkish markets, which absorb by far the larger proportion of negroes obtained from the Portuguese and Arab slave-traders on the main-land. Several thousands are said to be conveyed away every year, in small coasters or dhows, many of them well manned and armed, of from 100 to 200 tons burthen, and light draught, admirably suited to glide in and out of the numerous small ports on the coast-line. These slip out at favourable opportunities, run up or down the coast in shoal waters, quite inaccessible to the cruisers, then shoot across to MADAGASCAR and the COMORO ISLANDS, whence the slaves are transferred to others similar vessels, and conveyed to their ultimate destination. Her Majesty's Commissioner at Cape Town, indeed, reports, under date of the 1st October 1863, that "this branch of the traffic had declined very much during the last two years—a result chiefly due to the exertions of the Governor-General of Mozambique;" but, he adds, "for some years to come, any serious diminution in the trade must only be looked for from the cessation of the demand for slaves in other countries."

Into Zanzibar the scale of importation is recorded to have been as follows: in 1861, 19,000; in 1862, 14,000; in 1863, 12,000; numbers presenting a diminishing scale, it is true, but at the same time a terrible aggregate amount of suffering.

TURKEY, EGYPT, AND THE LEVANT.—The Committee deeply deplore to record a large increase of slave-trade into TURKEY

and EGYPT. Several years ago, the BEY OF TUNIS declared Slavery abolished throughout his dominions, since which time no negroes have been imported into the Regency for permanent residence, although advantage has been taken of its ports, surreptitiously to ship them for the Levantine marts. In 1856, a decree was promulgated, prohibiting the exportation of negroes from the province, which has had the effect of diverting the trade into new channels, not of extinguishing it. TRIPOLI and BENGAZI were formerly both the marts and the outlets for the caravans from the basins of the Niger and Lake Tchad, but these now proceed to ALGERIA and EGYPT. The slaves not absorbed by the Egyptian market, are despatched in small parties across the RED SEA into ARABIA, whence they are distributed throughout the Levant. The demand for the Turkish market stimulates the slave-trade not only from the East Coast of Africa—as has already been stated—but is the provocative to slave-hunts in the interior. The Turkish market includes that of Egypt. Now the Egyptian Government professes to discourage the slave-trade; nevertheless large barracoons exist at certain places in the interior, where the unfortunate natives are collected for government purposes: the males for replenishing the Nubian regiments, the females and the children being reserved for household service in the harems. These are surreptitiously conveyed down the river and smuggled into Cairo. The condition of the poor creatures in the barracoons is described as fearful. Many hundreds of them die of small-pox, and their bodies are seen in numbers floating down the river. The region of the WHITE NILE appears to be the principal hunting-ground for negroes, and Captains Speke and Grant furnished information to Mr. Colquhoun, Her Majesty's Consul at Alexandria, which led him to bring the matter under the notice of the Viceroy of Egypt. Mr. Petherick—late British Consul for the Soudan—had also reported upon the terrible nature and extent of this traffic, which is alleged to be conducted by Europeans, who map out the districts to be ravaged, and themselves head the expeditions. The slave-hunters are all provided with fire-arms, while the tribes invaded possess no other defensive weapons but spears and clubs. The object is, of course, plunder as well as slaves, the former consisting of ivory-tusks and cattle. The attack takes place at night, and such as escape the murderous onslaught are bound together with cords and marched off to the barracoons. It is said that for ten who ultimately reach Cairo, fifty perish miserably in the transit; so that the

mortality is immensely greater than is incidental to the Cuban slave-trade, the admitted and tolerably well-ascertained proportion in the latter case being as two to one. Representations upon this dreadful state of things have been duly made, but Your Committee fear, from the accounts which they have received from private sources, that little has yet been done towards suppressing it. In reply to the remonstrances which have been addressed to him, the Viceroy says that his Nubian regiments must be recruited by some means, and Mr. Colquhoun states that no pay would induce a Nubian to enlist. He adds that the sole female servants of not only Arab and Turkish, but of most European houses, are the negro women from Nubia, not one of whom would voluntarily quit her country; but as they receive good wages in European service, "they readily adapt themselves to their really bettered circumstances." Mr. Consul Erskine, writing from Constantinople to Earl Russell, on the 5th of December 1863, also remarks: "It may be a question in a country where Slavery is still tolerated, whether the male negroes will not be benefited rather than the reverse by their incorporation into the army." Your Committee submit, however, their opinion that no relative amount of benefit to *one* individual can possibly cover the infamous wrong to the *five* who perish; and they consider that both Mr. Consul Erskine and Mr. Consul Colquhoun render themselves obnoxious to the severest censure for offering any kind of apology in extenuation of a crime exceeding all others in atrocity.

REMARKS.—On a review of slave-trade statistics for the past two years, Your Committee consider, that although the prospect of the final extinction of the traffic is encouraging, it appears to be also remote. It is admitted on all hands, that the slave-traders have been much dispirited and baffled by the vigilance of the cruiser squadron, and Your Committee are of opinion that the difficulties they have had to encounter in carrying out their illicit plans, are ascribable to the operation of the new slave-trade treaty with the United-States' Government, which, conceding a limited right of search, has prevented the abuse of the Federal flag to cover slave-trading enterprises. Nevertheless, experience increasingly demonstrates, that the energies of the slave-traders are always equal to every emergency. New modes of repression are soon met by fresh expedients to ensure success. A command of unlimited capital, furnished upon the joint-stock principle, enlists intelligence, boldness, and cunning in the service of wickedness. Swift steamers supersede sail-

ing clippers; boats of light draught, for coast-service, effectually defy pursuit into the shallow creeks and bays selected for embarkation and disembarkation; and thus, combined effort and concerted action, stimulated by inordinate love of gain, ultimately defeat the most zealous exertions to put an end to these nefarious and wicked enterprises. Hence, Your Committee consider that a revival of them is to be apprehended at any time, so long as the demand for slaves shall continue. Indeed, and notwithstanding partial and periodical checks, to expect the total disappearance of the slave-trade, in all its forms, until Slavery itself is everywhere abolished, were to hope against all experience. Unquestionably to the closing of the Brazilian market may be traced the first noticeable diminution of the Trans-Atlantic traffic from Africa; but it may be seen how the demand for slaves in the Turkish dominions, and for the Cuban market, still stimulates slave-hunting expeditions into the interior of that vast continent, and keeps it in commotion from East to West, and from North to South, checking legitimate commerce, impeding civilization and the spread of religion, and inflicting untold misery upon entire tribes. At the same time it is a cheering fact, that wheresoever British authority penetrates, the traffic in human flesh and blood is relentlessly hunted down; and although the process of remonstrance is a long one, the gradual extirpation of the iniquity proves that it is not uncertain in its results. The question arises, whether other equally pacific means should not be tried, to bring it to a close. Were that great European delinquent, Spain, to follow the example of Brazil, and put a stop to the introduction of fresh negroes into Cuba, the last professing Christian nation would be relieved of the shame and disgrace of man-stealing, and might consistently unite with Great Britain, France, Portugal and the United States, in demanding of a Heathen Power such as Turkey the summary suppression of this crime throughout its territory; a suggestion which, with especial regard to Spain, has more than once been thrown out by Your Committee, and they perceive was, last year, acted upon by the Government of the United States, in a despatch from the Hon. W. H. Seward—recently so providentially preserved from assassination—to the American Minister at Madrid, Mr. Koerner, asking a revision of the existing laws and regulations concerning the unlawful introduction of slaves into the island of Cuba.

LEGITIMATE AFRICAN TRADE.—Commodore Wilmot reports to the Secretary to the Admiralty, that not a single shipment

of slaves took place from the Bight of Benin during the year ending 30th November 1864, but that slaves were as numerous as ever. He reports the indications of a tendency to turn to legitimate trade, on the part of the natives all along the coast, in consequence of the increasing difficulty of shipping the slaves that are on hand. But although he states that legal commerce is flourishing at Sierra Leone, it does not appear to extend its benefits to other places, and he attributes this circumstance to the fact, that there is yet great uncertainty as to the non-revival of the slave-trade. In other words, that looking forward to the renewal of this traffic, the natives did not care, as yet, to undertake legitimate commerce. Your Committee submit, that until the slave-trade from Africa is extirpated, no permanent development of legitimate commerce on that immense and fruitful continent can reasonably be anticipated. Experience and facts demonstrate, not that lawful trade springs up in a natural way and supersedes slave-trade, in localities where the latter is still rife, but that when the demand for slaves diminishes, in consequence of the closing of any large market, slave-trade becomes unprofitable, and in due course legitimate commerce takes its place. It is equally true, that wherever the latter once establishes itself, the revival of the illicit trade is impossible: hence it is of the utmost importance, from the commercial point of view alone, that every effort should be made to obtain a cessation of the demand for slaves from Africa, while it is obviously of immeasurably greater importance in the interest of humanity, of civilization, and of the Christian religion. Let it be borne in mind, that although there may be a partial decrease of this abominable traffic, there is no diminution of the horrors which accompany it. Its history to-day presents the same features of revolting cruelty, the same incidents of awful suffering, as it ever did, as it ever will do, so long as it is permitted to exist in any form, and to any extent.

SLAVERY.

AMERICA, UNITED STATES OF.—So swift has been the progress of events in the United States of America, since Your Committee last addressed you, that the mind is bewildered, not less by the rapidity with which they have succeeded one another, than by their magnitude. It is true that a year ago, upwards of one million and a half of the slave population of the Southern States had regained their freedom, either by fleeing from their owners, or through the occupation of certain rebel districts by

the Federal forces; but nearly two millions and a half yet remained in bondage: rebellion still maintained itself, erect, defiant and aggressive, grasping with desperate tenacity numerous strongholds on the sea-board, and defending with the valour of desperation the chief cities of the interior: its piratical cruisers still scoured the ocean, relentlessly destroying vessels engaged in peaceful commerce: the leaders of the Slave-holders' Confederacy were still, to external appearance, all-powerful in the land upon which they had brought the dire calamities of war: they still defied and outraged the enlightened opinion of the world, by their persistence in the determination—so impiously declared—to found, by force of arms, a new empire, of which Slavery should be the corner-stone: their agents were unusually active throughout the United States, and in Europe their influence appeared ubiquitous: their detestable cause could yet boast of material support in our principal centres of commerce and industry, of partisans in both our Houses of Parliament, and of advocates amongst the most widely-circulated and influential of our newspapers; it could even point to organizations, existing in our very midst, composed of men of high position, whose sole object was to agitate for the recognition of Confederate slave-holding independence: in a word, it still presented to the world, a unity, strong, determined, bold, and wicked, which the merest of the many accidents incidental to war might any day cause to triumph.

On the other hand, the Federal Government was staggering under the enormous responsibilities of a war unprecedented in magnitude and in its issues; its arms had achieved only partial victories, which seemed to lead to no immediately decisive results; and though it was gathering up its strength for the final struggle, the crowning victory might yet be long delayed, or might not come at all; as yet the nation had not pronounced its final verdict on the great question of the total abolition of Slavery, and even Mr. Lincoln's re-election was considered doubtful: the pro-slavery or Democratic party, was active and energetic, canvassing for its candidate; the Republican Abolitionists were divided, with faint hope of union; the constitutional amendment for the abolition of Slavery had been rejected by the House of Representatives; and yet, with signs of progress everywhere, and elements of strength more than sufficient to achieve success, the prospect of final triumph, save to a few, was not bright. To add to its difficulties and perplexities, a flood of misery and destitution had broken loose upon the country. Hundreds of thousands of fugitives from

Slavery; men, women, and children; the old, the feeble, the incapable, the sick, and the dying; but all eager, panting to secure that liberty for which they had so long prayed, and pined, and suffered with saint-like patience and abiding faith in the day of final deliverance; these multitudes, hourly increasing, cast themselves trustingly upon the Government, taxing its resources and its already sorely-tried energies to the very utmost. With these famishing, coloured masses, came also ravenous, equally destitute, thousands of "poor whites," fleeing from the Southern rule and reign of terror, and clamouring for the food and the clothing which the prejudices of the Slavery system had taught them it was degrading to work for. Thousands died under this fierce and fiery trial; yet more thousands flocked to the refuge of the Federal lines, and the Federal authority turned none away, but folded all to the national heart as its children in common, rendered dearer by calamity and suffering. To all these emergencies the United-States' Government and the American people proved themselves equal. While the echoes of distant victories were yet only faint; while the armed hosts of the nation were only yet beginning to close around the rebel fastnesses; suddenly, as if a veil had been wrenched from their eyes, the people of the North awakened to a sentiment of common danger, and all at once beheld the resurrected demon of Slavery ominously revealed in the looming, ghastly shadow of Democratic success. Then as suddenly disappeared all divisions and dissensions; then arose throughout the length and the breadth of the land the cry, "Union and Emancipation;" then did the national voice declare that the accursed thing, Slavery, should be for ever extirpated, root and branch, and spray, from the American Union, and that there should be from that moment and for all time, but one freedom for all, but one citizenship for all, but one country for all. In the astounding majority which again returned good Abraham Lincoln as the chief magistrate of the Republic, the American people spoke, not for themselves alone, but for all humanity. The knell of the monster Slavery, which they then united to toll, in their own land, reverberates for its execution throughout Christendom. If it remain to Heathendom, the same energies will pursue it thither to extermination; for while it shall breathe in any form, and amongst any people, peace and civilization there are in danger. With Abraham Lincoln's re-election, fell the last legal bulwark of Slavery in the United States. Congress confirmed the national decision by adopting the constitutional amendment. Some States had

already anticipated that decision by voting a similar amendment into their constitution: others followed; and at the present time, only four are wanting to complete the requisite three-fourths majority of all the States, to render the re-introduction of Slavery into the Union impossible for all time. Oh, happy deliverance! oh, glorious consummation!

Then, too, the awful ordeal of battle added its bloody trophies to the peaceful victories of the political field. On all sides burst the fierce hosts of the North through the limits of rebeldom. They swept through the West to the East, from the East to the North, from the North to the South; like the Destroying Angel, they smote as they passed; but they also struck the chains from thousands who were bound. Strong places fell, one by one; and at last, surrounding their foe, they strangled him in his stronghold; the rebel armies fled; they were scattered and dispersed like chaff before a mighty wind: the Slaveholders' Confederacy collapsed. Verily, "they that take the sword shall perish by the sword." Babylon—Slave-holding Babylon, "the Mother of harlots and of the abomination of the earth"—is fallen, is fallen; and great is the fall thereof. It took up the sword, and by the sword it has perished.

Of the crime which removed Abraham Lincoln, at a moment when, according to human judgment, his presence seemed to be most needed to reconstruct, in peace and conciliation, the national edifice a band of wicked conspirators had so ruthlessly assailed, Your Committee can speak only in terms of execration and abhorrence. The universal outburst of indignation with which the intelligence of that foul murder was received, and the equally general expression of sympathy with the American people, and with the widow and the family of the murdered President which it elicited, were in the highest degree significant of the estimation in which he was held. But Your Committee feel satisfied these marks of respect were, in a most striking degree, and principally, a spontaneous testimony to the great principles of human freedom and equality, of which he was the distinguished embodiment, and to his unflinching advocacy of which he fell a martyr. They are equally convinced, that the crime which made him and would have made others its victim, originated in the foul and sanguinary instincts of Slavery. Let it not be forgotten at this time, that Slavery is the incarnation of the very worst form of brute force: that it originated laws which sanction the commission of every sin denounced in the Decalogue; that it creates a state of opinion which tolerates the public flogging of women, and the most disgusting exhibitions of immodesty at the auction-block; which per-

mits the public sale of human beings, and the rupture of the dearest social ties; which produced a Fugitive Slave-Law, and invented slave-hunts by bloodhounds; which prompted the women of the South to present the cowardly ruffian, Preston Brookes, with testimonials in the form of gold-mounted bludgeons, surmounted with Death-heads and murderous mottoes, for nearly beating to death, in the Senate, that distinguished champion of abolition, the Honorable Charles Sumner; which bred the policy of annexation for its own ulterior Slavery-extension purposes; which advocated the re-opening of the African slave-trade, and encouraged slave-trading enterprises under the Federal flag; which concerted the bloody raids into Kansas, and lately into Vermont and Canada: which plotted the riots in New York only last year, and, a few months ago, the burning of the principal Northern cities; which, ever unscrupulous, audacious, arrogant, and desperate, has never slumbered in its wickedness, has never faltered in presence of any crime; which, born in it and bred in it, and gaining strength by what it fed upon, nurtured to maturity the fiendish spirit whence sprang the recent rebellion, and its natural complement and last manifestation, the conspiracy to murder Abraham Lincoln. Let these facts not be forgotten now; but let them be remembered only as evidences of the spirit of an institution which cannot anywhere exist without crime, and for the extirpation of which it is therefore the bounden duty of all right-minded, right-thinking men to unite and to co-operate.

On the occasion of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, your Committee adopted the following resolution:

"The Committee desire to record the feelings of dismay and sorrow with which they have heard of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, and of the murderous attempt upon the life of his colleague the Hon. W. H. Seward. While they regard these crimes as unparalleled in atrocity, deserving, as indeed they have justly excited, universal reprobation, they consider that the peculiar circumstances under which they were perpetrated remove them out of the category of ordinary crimes, and give them a deplorable prominence, as the natural manifestations of the execrable system of Slavery, directed against the exponents of a policy of freedom.

"The Committee deem it especially their duty to bear their testimony in appreciation of the high qualities which distinguished Abraham Lincoln, as the ruler of a great people; who, during a season of unprecedented difficulty, consistently ad-

hered to principles which have happily been accepted by the nation, and in their application will secure the liberty of four millions of our fellow-creatures, held oppressed and degraded in the very worst form of bondage. As the emancipator of the slaves in the United States, Abraham Lincoln is entitled to the gratitude of all mankind.

"The Committee, in condoling with the people of the United States, on the occasion of the signal loss they have sustained in the sudden removal of their late President, would express the confident hope that they will remain steadfast to the policy of emancipation, to the steady development of which his life was consecrated, and to which he fell a martyr, and will strengthen the hands of his successor to pursue the same noble course. They also fervently trust, that in the high and responsible position which Andrew Johnson, now President, has been called to fill, he may be guided by the wisdom which cometh from above; that he may be endowed with the forbearance which tempereth justice with mercy, and be spared to bring to a happy and peaceful consummation the work Abraham Lincoln began.

"The Committee would further express their profound sympathy with the family of Abraham Lincoln, under the bereavement which bows them down with grief. At such a solemn time, they will derive consolation from the world-wide manifestation of sorrow and regret which the violent death of him who was their head has elicited; and will be strengthened to bear up against this grievous calamity, and be cheered by the reflection that he and his descendants will bear an honoured name, which the ever-increasing multitudes of a once down-trodden race will hold enshrined in their hearts to be transmitted to remotest posterity as that of one of the greatest benefactors of mankind."

As the lesser is included in the greater, it were supererogatory, in presence of the great fact that Slavery has been constitutionally abolished by Congress, to enumerate the various measures—notably the repeal of the Fugitive Slave-Law—which, during the past year, were sanctioned by that body, in furtherance of the policy of Emancipation inaugurated with the installation of Mr. Lincoln. Moreover, they are mere details preliminary to the final measure, and useful only to demonstrate how gradually, though rapidly, public opinion outran almost the wishes of the most sanguine. It has culminated in demanding, it has succeeded in obtaining, the final great act of justice, which has created a nation in a day. The struggle is at an end: the victory is won: and of this fact no more convincing evidence is needed than

the official declaration of the leaders of the abolition-party in the United States, that their association, and with it their public organs, will henceforth cease and determine, because an Anti-slavery Society and an anti-slavery organ with no Slavery to oppose, are a solecism and an absurdity; nay, more, an impossibility. Noble have been the labours of William Lloyd Garrison, and his coadjutors, through thirty-two years of odium and reproach; but they have the glorious satisfaction of having brought them to a triumphant close, and of seeing the great principles they advocated, at the risk of their lives, adopted by the majority of their countrymen. Truth is great and will prevail.

THE FREEDMEN.—But the question now enters another phase. The practical philanthropy of our American co-adjutors is directed to the condition of the Freedmen. The work of relieving their immediate necessities, of providing them with employment, and especially of educating them, is recognised to be of paramount importance. When the first wail of suffering and destitution went up from the fugitive multitudes who had sought freedom within the Federal lines, private benevolence immediately responded, and came forward to second the efforts of the Government. Up to this time last year, upwards of 40,000,000*l.* sterling had been contributed from this source alone, for the sufferers by the war, both white and coloured; a truly noble gift to the poor, the suffering, and the destitute. Since that time large amounts have continued to pour in, and now the work has become national. Freedmen's Aid Associations are being multiplied to meet daily increasing emergencies, and these are charged with the most important mission ever undertaken by any people, the education of a nation emerging from chattel-slavery, to exercise the full rights of citizenship. A whole army of devoted women and men have voluntarily undertaken the office of teachers, and consecrated their energies to the work before them. Hundreds of the former, brought up in the comforts and ease of Northern homes, many of them delicately nurtured, have, in obedience to a strong call of Christian duty, quitted the domestic roof, and, bravely descending into the midst of the forlorn multitudes, have, like ministering angels from Heaven, nursed the sick, tended the helpless, upheld the sinking, comforted the discouraged, soothed the dying, buried the dead, taught the ignorant, and all this amidst pestilence, and famine, and fever, and material discomforts sufficient to appal the stoutest hearts. But they have not quailed, nor has their faith in the ultimate success of their minis-

tration faltered for a moment. It has been, indeed, abundantly blessed, and the results obtained to this day are most cheering and encouraging.

Your Committee have seen with extreme gratification, the formation of Freedmen's Associations in England, whose object is to send material assistance to the parent organizations in the United States. It is a work of such pure benevolence and charity that all may participate in it, yet is it of the utmost importance from an anti-slavery point of view; for the sooner it shall be made manifest, on the largest scale, that the emancipated slave is eager to learn; that he does support himself and family by his own exertions; and that he needs only the ordinary stimulus to labour—fair wages for services performed—the last argument will be taken from the mouth of those who still maintain that Slavery is the proper *status* of the negro race, and that its emancipation in countries where slave-labour is yet extant, is synonymous with ruin to the master and misery to the slave. Your Committee would refer to the numerous reports which have been published from those places in the United States where the emancipated slaves have been located, as furnishing incontestable evidence of the capabilities and the natural industry of the Freedmen, sufficient to satisfy any impartial mind, that the experiment of free-labour, which has proved so successful under circumstances of extreme discouragement, is not likely to fall off in its results when brought into operation under favourable auspices. It is highly gratifying to find it recorded, that wherever the former slaves have remained with those who were their owners, under mutual obligations to work and to pay wages, the latter have expressed their satisfaction at the arrangement, testifying to the advantages of the new system over the old, and their reluctance to return to it.

THE DUTCH COLONIES.—In further illustration of the operation of the free system of labour, Your Committee may refer to the reports which have been published, from time to time, of the results of emancipation in the Dutch West-India colonies.

No serious derangement of the labour-market appears to have resulted from the abolition of Slavery. The freed negroes have continued to work, under the stimulus of wages, and, in all cases where they have been fairly dealt with, have given satisfaction. They have entered readily into contracts of service, for various periods, with advantageous results on both sides. It is also admitted, on all hands, that the moral advance of the emancipated classes has equalled expectation. Marriages have

greatly increased in number amongst them, and few of the liberated have fallen into crime. They exhibit much religious feeling; their places of worship are well attended, as are the schools; and notwithstanding the many drawbacks incidental to their former condition, their general improvement and progress are considered extremely encouraging.

A fair estimate, also, of the beneficial commercial results of emancipation in these colonies, may be found, by a comparison of the value of estates there during Slavery, and recently since its abolition. It was commonly asserted that properties would be greatly depreciated when slave-labour was withdrawn from them, but this prediction has been singularly falsified, for they have been sold at much higher prices, without the slaves, than they were valued at with them.

On the 15th of last September, sixteen estates in Surinam, belonging to the Government, were publicly sold. They realized, in the aggregate, 254,000 guilders, equivalent to 21,200*l.* sterling. Three of these estates were bought many years ago, during Slavery, for the sums respectively of 2000*l.*; 1500*l.* and 184*l.*, and they brought at the sale referred to, 2759*l.*, 2375*l.*, and 350*l.*, or 5484*l.*, in the aggregate, as against 3684*l.*, being an advance of 50 per cent. upon the original cost. The others realized an advance of 30 per cent.

CONCLUSION.

It is obvious that in proportion as the great principles which Your Society advocates are accepted and brought into operation its sphere of usefulness must become more and more contracted; and the abolition of Slavery in the United States—which is virtually an accomplished fact—would perhaps point, not unnaturally, to the conclusion, that, practically, little or nothing remains for Your Society to do. While, however, the thoughts of Your Committee are seriously directed to this subject, and while they believe the day is not distant when Slavery shall be abolished, wheresoever a remnant of that iniquitous institution exists, they also bear in mind, and they would dwell upon the fact in this place, that the African Slave-trade is, unhappily, still prosecuted to a most appalling extent, and that until the slave-marts which are its incentive shall be closed, only the opportunity is wanting to stimulate its unlimited development. They would point to the large slave population in Cuba, computed to exceed 1,000,000, and to the enormous number of slaves—said to equal 3,000,000—in Brazil, or three-eighths of the entire population of that empire; and they would not overlook the

remnant, exceeding 1,000,000, in sundry other parts of the world, all accessible to the same influences which have pursued, and thus far exterminated Slavery elsewhere. Nor should it be forgotten that Your Society, besides seeking to accomplish the universal extinction of Slavery and the Slave-trade, has also for one of its objects the protection of the rights and interests of our enfranchised population in our own colonies; complaints of the infringements of which, and of much individual oppression—the results of a system of mis-government that loudly demands radical reform—are constantly reaching Your Committee. Hence the duty of Your Committee to labour yet a little longer in the direction which may commend itself to their judgment as most likely to produce a favourable result.

By the issue of a large number of tracts on the American struggle, Your Committee believe Your Society did much towards conveying correct information upon that tremendous event; and there is evidence that their timely protests and demonstrations produce appreciable effects. The *Anti-Slavery Reporter*—the organ of Your Society—is a faithful record of acts relating to the anti-slavery question under its various aspects; and Your Committee have adopted measures for its wider circulation. It is a medium of communicating with their coadjutors in other countries, the value of which is to be appreciated only by those who have opportunities of testing its usefulness in this respect. In the distribution of pamphlets—as, for instance, the Rev. James Long's upon the results of the Emancipation of the Russian Serfs—and in the dissemination of facts illustrating the results of emancipation and the advantages of free over slave-labour, an influence is exercised, which also tends to promote the final triumph of the great principle Your Society advocates; and its interference is continually being solicited in cases where the petitioners almost despair of obtaining justice through any other channel. Of this a recent instance may furnish an apt illustration.

The Jamaica Legislature has adopted two Bills, which have been sent to the Colonial Office for ratification by the Queen. These Bills empower the infliction of flogging, and a forced apprenticeship, for petty larceny. The friends of the people in the island justly regard these Bills with disfavour, and urge that they are contrary to the spirit of British legislation, and likely to provoke serious disturbances. In this case Your Committee memorialized the Colonial Secretary, praying for the disallowance of these enactments; an office they readily undertook, for these measures—

and others of a similar character might be adduced — satisfy them that although Slavery has been legally abolished in the British Colonies, its wicked spirit still survives under numerous forms, and that its manifestations require close watching and prompt checking.

On the subject of the extinction of the Cuban slave-trade, too, Your Committee have not been inactive. At home, circumstances have not favoured Parliamentary action in the direction Your Committee deemed most likely to produce a result, so much attention having been given to questions arising out of the late American civil war; but Your Committee believe the time has come when an attempt may be made to bring forward the whole matter, which, they are encouraged to find, has been discussed at some length in the Spanish Cortes, where a suggestion was made to constitute slave-trading piracy. Although this proposition was not accepted, the mere fact of its being submitted is an instructive incident, and other circumstances indicate a decided advance in public opinion. A part of the duties of Your Committee is to open and keep up a correspondence with the friends of the anti-slavery cause in every country; for although even the appearance of foreign interference is to be avoided, such stimulus to active effort as may be imparted by the constant interchange of sentiment and opinion, and the dissemination of information, is not only legitimate but desirable.

Your Committee are rejoiced to find that an active anti-slavery sentiment has been developed in Spain. A number of the friends of negro emancipation in Madrid have united for the purpose of agitating this question, and have constituted themselves a Society, under the designation of the *Spanish Abolitionist Society*, which was formally inaugurated, at a public meeting held on the 2nd of April last, in the Hall of Jurisprudence. It was the first of the kind ever held in Spain. It was largely attended, and the Society was duly constituted as follows:

President, Señor Don Salustiano Olózaga.

Vice-Presidents, Señor Don Antonio Maria Segovia, Señor Marquis de Albaida, Señor Don Laureano Figuerola, Señor Don Julio Valera, Señor Don Fermin Cabellero.

Committee, Señors Dons Luis Maria Pastor, Praxedés, Mateo Sagasta, Gabriel Rodriguez, Segismundo Moret, Prendergast, Eugenio García Ruiz, Ricardo Alzugaray, J. Santin y Quevedo, Francisco de Paula Montemar, Tristan Medina, Calisto Bernal.

Secretaries, Don Julio L. Vizcarrondo, and Don Mariano Carreras y Gonzalez.

A second meeting was held in Madrid on

the 21st instant. In the absence of Don S. Olazaga, who is in Italy, the Chair was taken by the Marquis de Albaida, second Vice-President. The meeting decided unanimously that the Society should adopt as its motto, "immediate not gradual emancipation." A form of Circular was passed, embodying this as the fundamental principle of the Society; urging the necessity of at once abolishing Slavery, but leaving the mode for future consideration. It also decided to issue, without delay, an anti-Slavery paper, to be entitled "*El Abolicionista Español, Organo de la Sociedad de Madrid de este nombre.*" A copy of these resolutions and of the Circular was ordered to be forwarded to the various anti-Slavery Societies in England, France, and the United States.

Your Committee's correspondent writes that the public sentiment in favour of immediate emancipation grows stronger every day; and he adds:

"We are all radical abolitionists. . . . Our Government, though not altogether with us, is not openly opposed. . . . The cause of the abolition of Slavery may now be considered as fairly planted in Spain."

These signs of the times are indeed encouraging, though it must not be imagined that the friends of the cause in Spain are likely to have a quiet time of it. The partisans of Slavery and the slave-trade are active, and powerful; and, to advocate their views and policy, have set on foot an organ of their own, called *La Isla de Cuba*, to which they are giving an extensive circulation. Their opponents have also a periodical, entitled, *La Revista Hispano-Americana*, but though it pleads for abolition, it has a somewhat more political character than is thought desirable, wherefore they are about to issue the paper already mentioned, which will be specially dedicated to the treatment of the emancipation question. It is to be hoped that, aided by other and daily organs of the Madrid press—which, Your Committee are happy to add, has announced itself generally in favour of the new movement—the public mind will be speedily enlightened; and when this is done, the Government will find itself compelled to meet the demand for emancipation, by some decided measure in that direction. The abolition party in Spain is not without elements of strength in Cuba. If rumours, which have found their way into print may be credited, a large and an influential party in that island is decidedly in favour of emancipation. It has existed many years, but many of its leaders were expatriated in consequence of their opinions, and the local Government per-

secuted their adherents into silence, though they could not suppress the progress of ideas and the developement of principles.

With reference to this question, Your Committee may here quote an extract from one of Mr Consul Crawford's despatches to Earl Russell, dated from Havana, the 16th November 1863. He says: "It would behove Her Catholic Majesty's Government to consider and concert measures for the gradual emancipation of all the slaves, preparatory to the final abolition of Slavery here and throughout the Spanish dominions.

"It must be evident to the Spaniards, as it is to all the world, that the lamented struggle which has for some time past been going on and is still continued in America, whatever may be its result as to the separation of the North and South, must put an end to the institution of Slavery, which must be abolished, and that Slavery cannot continue to be an institution of the Spanish Colonies after its abolition in the United States and the rest of the civilized world."

In this opinion Your Committee cordially concur, and seeing how suddenly the slave-holder's rebellion and the institution of Slavery have collapsed in the United States, it may not seem a hazardous prediction that Slavery and the Slave-trade in Cuba are destined to be as suddenly brought to an end.

But anti-slavery progress is not confined to the United States and to Spain. In Brazil there is a movement afoot in the same direction. The slave trade from Africa—as Your Committee have already stated—has been extinct now for nearly fourteen years. The Emperor is known to be favourable to emancipation. Recently, on the occasion of the marriage of the Imperial Princess Donna Isabella to Count d'Eu, His Majesty gave her, as a wedding present, the freedom papers of all the slaves who would have come to her as a marriage dower; and in other ways he has manifested his desire to take the lead in this matter.

Several members of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies have openly expressed the opinion that means must be taken to extinguish Slavery, and the leading minds of the country are looking forward to it. Indeed, it has been publicly stated, and the statement has gone uncontradicted, that the whole question would be seriously discussed in the course of the present session, which commenced this month. Under these circumstances, it is most unfortunate that any cause of discouragement, which is removable, should be permitted to exist.

Your Committee regret to state that the

retention of the Aberdeen Act operates very prejudicially, not only in keeping up a feeling of irritation between the British and the Brazilian Governments, but as an obstacle to anti-slavery effort. Your Committee have set forth their views upon this subject very succinctly in a petition which Mr. W. E. Forster presented to the House of Commons on the 24th of last month, and Lord Brougham also most ably submitted them to the House of Lords late last session. These discussions in Parliament elicited in both Houses, and from all parties, and also from the public press, an almost unanimous expression of opinion against the retention of an Act admittedly objectionable in principle, which did not effect the purpose for which it was passed; but which object being nevertheless effected, renders its retention not only useless but mischievous. Your Committee hope that means may yet be found to induce Her Majesty's Government to repeal that obnoxious measure.

With respect to the *emancipados*, whose hard case has been so justly commented upon, Your Committee admit to the fullest extent the short-comings of the Brazilian Government. Tardy justice has been done to that unfortunate class, by the Decree of September last, which declared them all free, to the number of 5809, according to the official registers. But Your Committee consider that the difficulties attendant upon the release of the *emancipados* are attributable to the oversight of the parties to the treaty which created this class of slaves, in not taking due precaution for their liberation from apprenticeship when their term had expired. Your Committee would further remark that the case of the Brazilian *emancipados* is in nowise worse than—indeed, in many respects, is not nearly so bad as—that of the same class in Cuba, whose wrongs do not appear to have excited the sympathy of those who have—for their own purpose—so clamorously espoused the cause of their Brazilian co-sufferers. Your Committee offer no extenuation for the wrong in either case, but they submit, that while the Brazilian Government has—though tardily—redeemed its faith, the Spanish Government is to this hour an unrebuked delinquent.

Your Committee believe that this necessarily brief outline of the operations of Your Society will satisfy its friends that it has still a work to do, and that the time has not yet come when it can consistently discontinue its labours. Many of its supporters have passed away; others cannot, in the course of nature, expect long to continue; but though men die, great principles live and fructify; and where there is a holy work to be done, the instruments

to promote it are always providentially raised up and brought out. This conviction animates Your Committee, and will encourage it to persevere unto the end, assured that right and justice must ultimately prevail.

Mr. HENRY STERRY then read the statement of accounts. After doing so, he called special attention to two of the items; first to the *August Offerings*, which, he said, were the contributions of those who had once been in Slavery, sent through their pastors as a thank-offering, in commemoration of emancipation; secondly, to the fact, that two or three years ago, the Society was at a very low ebb in a financial point of view, so low, indeed, that it was considered expedient to appeal to the friends of the Society whether it was to go on or not. The response was, "Go forward." The Committee said they could not go forward without funds. Accordingly, in a short space of time, by the exertions and aid of a few individuals, a sum of nearly 5000*l.* was produced.

The SECRETARY read the names of the Committee and the officers proposed to be elected for the ensuing year, and the list of Corresponding Members.

M. HENRI GRANVILLE, Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* for the Republic of Haiti, moved the first resolution, as follows:

"That the Report, of which an Abstract has been read, be printed and circulated under the direction of the Committee, and that the gentlemen whose names have been submitted to the Meeting be the Committee and the officers for the ensuing year, with power to add to their number."

He spoke in French. His speech, interpreted by the Secretary, was as follows:

He said, that although very much out of health, he felt it a duty to be present at this meeting. He had attended the 28th Anniversary of the *Aborigines' Protection Society*, held at Exeter Hall on the 25th, and had then taken advantage of the opportunity to say a few words of thanks and gratitude to that Society, and a few words of hope, for its labours on behalf of all suffering races; but the meeting of to-day concerned him more immediately, more directly, more specially, because of the race to which he belonged. Yes, the races are equal, and humanity is one before God. No race, whatever the prejudices of opinion against it, ought to be held under the yoke, or placed under the ban of general civilization. Nothing could be less equitable, nor more opposed to the intentions of Providence. The most advanced races ought to extend a paternal hand to those more backward—but not therefore disinherited, for they possess the elements of progress—and should help them onward and guide them by their light. All the races were created free by the Sovereign Master, and had an equal right to all the privileges of citizenship. Haiti

and Liberia, two sister negro Republics, offer a striking, a notable example in favour of the complete emancipation of the negro race, and of its capacity for self-government. The blacks of Haiti, let it be remembered, did not revolt being slaves, but being once free, they turned upon those who sought to re-enslave them. What had the Haitians not endured to achieve and to maintain their liberty and their independence! Contemporaneous history ought to render them justice.

Happily the institution of Slavery is crumbling around us, and we are assisting to break it up. What blood had been shed, in these later times to blot out this hideous, shameful, iniquitous system! Might that of Abraham Lincoln, glorious apostle and martyr of liberty, be the last! But Providence overrules all things for good; and one might suppose, that for the triumph of great ideas, great causes, human sacrifices were needed. Would the religion of Christ have triumphed in the world without the martyrdom of the Saviour? He would gratefully thank the Society, in the name of his country, and of his fellow-countrymen, for its philanthropic sentiments, and its generous and persevering efforts on behalf of his race; and he thanked heaven the privilege had been permitted him of being present at one of its great meetings. He would improve the happy opportunity to repeat words which had ever remained engraven on his mind, and which had fallen from the lips of his deceased and much-lamented father—words worthy of his heart and his character—whilst endeavouring, in 1824, to promote the emigration from the United States to Haiti of the free people of colour, suffering so much on account of the prejudice against colour: "Glory and honour to you, to all who believe that a black face does not necessarily indicate a black heart."

Mr. GERALD RALSTON, Consul-General for Liberia, seconded the resolution. He said:

Mr. President, I have the greatest pleasure in adding a few words in support of the motion of my excellent colleague, the Chargé d'Affaires of Haiti, for the adoption of the Report of the Committee. There is a great, nay a special propriety in the motion of the Representative of Haiti being advocated by the Representative of Liberia. The agents of the only civilized negro nations of the world ought to manifest their gratitude and their appreciation of the most useful services of the *Anti-Slavery Society* for the amelioration of the condition and the social improvement of the negro race; labours which have eventuated in so spreading emancipation principles that these have now resulted in the abolition of Slavery in America. Before I sit down I beg to mention to this benevolent assembly what I am sure will give great pleasure. I hold in my hand two treaties, lately made between the Republics of Haiti and Liberia, and between Portugal and Liberia. I will refer only to the article in each document to shew how much favoured we have been in getting the recognition of the principle that slave-trade is piracy, and shall be punished accordingly. After many years of fruitless effort to get this introduced into international law, I was fortunate in meeting, in the person of the Ambassador for

the Republic of Haiti, a warm sympathizer in this most important principle. He adopted the proposed article readily and most cordially. The result has been the article as follows: "*La Traite des Esclaves est assimilée à la piraterie. Elle est rigoureusement défendue et les navires des deux Etats qui se livrent à cet infame trafic seront jugés et punis d'après les lois en vigueur dans leurs pays respectifs contre la piraterie.*" So also the treaty made between Portugal and Liberia contains a similar article in nearly the same words; and I am sure this meeting will rejoice with me, that we have been able to get three nations to denounce slave-trade as piracy by international law. I beg for the adoption of the Report of the Committee, with the expression of thanks for their zealous efforts to promote the welfare of the negroes throughout the civilized world, but particularly in America, and in Africa where they most abound.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

EDWARD NORTH BUXTON, Esq., moved the second resolution. He said: I must apologise for my brother, Sir Fowell Buxton, who was to have been here, and to have seconded the resolution now before you. He is unfortunately unable to attend to-day, and he wished me to say how much he regretted that, through an unfortunate mistake of his own, he made another engagement for this evening; but he desires to express his cordial sympathy with the objects of this meeting. At the same time I am glad of the opportunity which his absence gives me, of saying how much I rejoice with this Society at the termination of the war, and congratulate them on the way in which their anticipations have been fulfilled in the results of it. I also congratulate them on the unanimity with which people, both in England and America, have lately come to regard this question of Slavery. Whatever may have been the state of public opinion in America on this subject six years ago, there can be no doubt that the effect of the war has been to confirm and strengthen the determination of the American people that Slavery shall come to an end; and deeply as we must lament the loss of President Lincoln, who had ever been foremost in that determination, we may rest confident that the voice of the people there is now too strong and too settled to be affected by any change of rulers.

He then read the resolution, which was as follows:

"That this Meeting rejoices in the cessation of the civil war in the United States, and in the overthrow of the slaveholders' rebellion, but especially in the unanimous adoption, by the American people, of the emancipation policy inaugurated by the election to the Presidency of the late Abraham Lincoln, and consistently promoted by him, during his first term of office, as shown in the various measures successively enacted by Congress, culminating in its acceptance of the Constitutional Amendment abolishing Slavery throughout all the States of the Union, in its ratification by twenty-three of those States, and in the prospect of its adoption by the requisite majority to make it law. It con-

gratulates the American people upon the triumph of the principles which led to the re-election of Mr. Lincoln last year, and sincerely condoles with them on the loss they have so recently sustained in the sudden removal, by an assassin's hand, of that good, great man, and distinguished statesman; and whilst it would record its confidence in his successor, it would also express the hope that the nation will strengthen his hands to carry out the policy which, commencing in the recognition of the right to freedom of four millions of slaves, must not be allowed to stop short of their elevation to all the privileges of full and complete citizenship."

MR. SAMUEL BOWLY, of Gloucester, seconded the Resolution.

There were some persons (he said) who turned away from any interference with this question, with the idea that they had nothing to do with the question of American Slavery. Now he conceived that Slavery anywhere had as much to do with us as we with it; and the time was coming when public opinion would be the opinion of the world. The free intercourse of nation with nation—the exchange of our literature and the exchange of our ideas—were bringing about a moral power, which would enable each country to exercise an influence over the other, he hoped, far greater and wider than the sword had ever done. He was anxious, therefore, that they should, as far as their sympathies went, and as far as their influence on public opinion went, endeavour to raise up a standard for the independence of the American slaves who had so recently been liberated. They must be aware that a very strong anti-slavery feeling prevailed in the Northern States of America previous to this war: he was not going into the question politically, nor could he rejoice in the instrumentality that had brought the country to a better mind; that that country was brought to a better mind there could be no question, and that was the point for us: he thought a large number of persons in that country had yielded to the wave of public opinion, which was thoroughly convinced of the unchristian character of Slavery. Therefore he thought the anti-slavery party in America required to be supported; but what he wished to refer to was the Christian feeling, the Christian bearing of England on this great question. He was engaged a short time since in the neighbourhood from which he came, collecting subscriptions on behalf of the freed negroes of America, and he was very much struck with the cold indifference manifested towards this question—which he should not have supposed existed at this day—actually calculating whether it would not be cheaper to raise the products of America by slave-labour than by free and paid-labour. He could easily understand such sentiments lurking in the American mind, and that it would require the help and sympathy of this country to bring to a sound and successful issue the movement now going on in America. He looked upon this great emancipation in America as the commencement of the downfall of Slavery everywhere; and he was extremely anxious, therefore, that people in this

country should do all they could, by public sentiment and by pecuniary aid, to bring the emancipation to a successful result. He thought they must all admit that the emancipation had taken place under most unfavourable circumstances for the negroes; and he was utterly astonished, he confessed, that the emancipation had taken place under the circumstances of civil war, with that which was so little to the injury and discredit of the negro race. Nay, he thought they had exalted themselves high in our estimation. In the midst of all this turmoil, and trouble, and irritation, he had not heard that those poor negroes had lifted their hands against any man. Whoever, therefore, had been wrong in this question, the negro had been right, and deserved our most earnest sympathy and cordial aid. Now he wished to say a few words as to the position which he thought the *Anti-Slavery Society* ought to take at the present moment, and he did not think they could do better than occupy their machinery and their funds—whatever amount of funds they might have—in assisting the American people at this crisis to carry out this emancipation to a successful issue. Every other nation has doubtless watched the progress of this event, and if, by our aid and instrumentality it could be made successful, as he believed it would be, it would, as he said before, hasten the downfall of Slavery everywhere. He hoped, therefore, the result of this meeting would be, to recommend the Committee of the Society to take up this question in the way which it deemed most expedient and best. He would not go into the condition of the emancipated negroes. They had already laid down their lives by hundreds and thousands, in the endeavour to grasp at freedom. People talked with indifference of Slavery, but would those poor people travel 500 miles, dragging their little children along with them, suffering all sorts of privations, and in many cases death itself, in the hope of getting rid of the iniquitous system, which was hard to be borne, and under which they had long suffered, if all we heard of its cruelty was not in part or wholly true? He knew of no class of persons entitled to our sympathy and aid in a greater degree than those emancipated slaves of America. He knew of no people more called upon to assist them than the English people, because it was the English people who helped to fasten the fetters upon them; and therefore they were in some degree responsible for the horrors perpetrated under the system. He hoped, therefore, we should endeavour to do all we could for this Anti-Slavery Society, to enable it to carry out what he believed was the cordial wish of the people of this country. He must say one word with regard to the fall of Abraham Lincoln. He thought noble men were not those who had noble titles, but who were noble in their natures; and he wished, as a peace man, to point to this one fact, that in his martyrdom, in laying down his life, he did more to raise the anti-slavery feeling in America than all the bayonets used there: and if we could only grasp that principle of being willing to suffer for any cause rather than to fight for it, we should have Slavery and all tyranny put down without the instrumentality of the sword. He wanted them to see in that man's death a

principle unfolded to us, by which he believed great conquests could be made over that which was injurious to humanity, without the use of the most violent of means. Might that day speedily come—might we be parties to its coming—when tyranny should be unknown, and peace reign upon the earth.

Mr. M. D. CONWAY rose to support the resolution.

The SECRETARY observed that Mr. Conway was originally a Virginian slaveholder, but who, through conscientious motives, set his slaves at liberty, and became one of the most active promoters of the anti-slavery cause.

Mr. CONWAY said it gave him great pleasure to sustain the resolution. It seemed to him that they had great reason to see that the ground and struggle of human feeling—the pulses of men's hearts—were, when they were in the direct and right current, absolutely irresistible. Here were men in the North who did not even have votes, men who were generally non-resistant in their opinions, yet who, without casting a ballot—for it was against their principles even to vote under the constitution—without even a vote, or carnal weapons of any kind—who now saw the great fortresses of wrong crumbling under them, and for once there was much to admire in the great inherent power of rectitude and the principles of man; while on the other hand there was an equally admirable and magnificent exemplification of the perpetual and chronic suicidal course of evil. There never yet was a single blow struck for Slavery in America which had not gone to its own heart. The very power by which it first invaded the territories of the West led to the formation of the States of freedom, and it ended in adding more strength and determination to the anti-slavery people. The power of the South swept away the great Missouri Compromise, which had for a long time been a wall between the two forces of Slavery and Freedom. No sooner was that done than the great independent power of the North began to propagate new free States everywhere. Then the upholders of Slavery perpetrated that cruel act—they hanged John Brown. Every thing that they had done for the purpose of perpetuating the horrible system had been purely suicidal; and at last it was their mad rebellion—the intense and animal ferocity of that rebellion, their arming of the slaves, whose stake in the nation they had altogether ignored—which made emancipation necessarily a wise measure, and absolutely sealed the doom of the accursed institution. Evil was just as suicidal in its workings, as rectitude was self-sustaining and vitalizing. Mention had been made by the last speaker of the man who had been laid low by the hand of the assassin: that was only the last blow of the dagger which was meant to complete the institution's suicide. The final result of that was the determination which had arrested Jefferson Davis in his flight, and not permitted him to escape, and which had brought him under the power of the man who was self-elected by Slavery to decide upon the fate of the Southerners and of the rebellion. At Macon, Georgia, where he (the speaker) remembered the brave Ellen Craft and

William Craft, who was now doing so much to redeem Africa from her bondage, and her ignorance and superstition—where Ellen Craft went forth a fugitive in the brave race of 1000 miles for freedom, dressed as a man, Jefferson Davis ran into the same swamp, dressed as a woman. There was a righteous and dramatic retribution all through the history of this war. Mr. Andrew Johnson, who was now called upon to preside over the American nation—to whom Slavery was remitted, to further deal with the Southerners—was a man whom he remembered many years ago, a swarthy, dark-faced man, earnest, grim, terrible, a man without humour, not given to metaphor, plain, and absolutely in earnest all the time. This Andrew Johnson, when he became a landed proprietor, with a large estate in the neighbourhood from which he (the speaker) came, was a large slaveholder, though at the beginning of the rebellion he discovered Slavery to be a very bad thing, and, calling his slaves together, told them they were free, and might go back on his farm, or any where else, and work for themselves, for he was sorry he could not take care of them any longer. He always had the reputation of being a very kind master to his slaves. He became representative, senator, and every thing his State could make him; and yet he (the speaker) remembered when he asked somebody who that man was, receiving the reply, he was a tailor in Tennessee, who, although he had been some twenty years filling the highest offices the State could bestow upon him, had never allowed the old signboard to be taken down—“Andrew Johnson, Tailor”—and there it remained to this day in Greenville, Tennessee. He was a very plucky man. When he sat in the State, and the great surges of treason, of pro-Slavery, of malice and wrath rose through the capital, and swept away all those Southerners southwards to the Savannahs, were they all gone? No; there was one single man standing in the capital: he was a remarkably taciturn man, who never made one speech hardly in five years: he stood now columnar. With Breckenridge in the chair at the Senate, he said, “If I could find a man using the power of this Government—using the very power put in his hands by the Government to undermine the Government—I would arrest him, and by the eternal God I would hang him.” After that he went through Lynchbridge, Virginia—a very appropriate name—and was seized by the nose by a newspaper editor, and dragged about the town; he was kicked and spit upon by the mob, and had his hair pulled. Finally, he sought refuge in a railway car, and was taken to Liberty County, where he was again seized, and treated in the same way. As a sheep before its shearers, he said not a word. They even took a rope, and having made a slip knot, put it round his neck; the other end of the rope they threw over the branch of a tree, and were unanimous in their determination to hang him. He was absolutely certain he was to be hung, when a grey-haired old citizen came up, and cried out, “Boys, don’t hang him, for I have just got tidings that they are wanting to hang him in his own State: the Virginians have no right to take the right from the Greenville people.” They accordingly set him at liberty.

That was what saved the life of the United-States’ President. And it was to that man that Slavery had committed its fate. He (the speaker) had been one of the rather outlawed set who so hated war as to believe it the next great sin in the world to Slavery; one of the number of men who would gladly have compromised with the South, and let them go, if they had consented to the immediate emancipation of the slaves. Those who did not share in that opinion called those who did foolish. Well, he could not help that. He felt now that they would need every particle of the anti-slavery feeling in America and England to make the reform thorough and absolute. Now that the death of Abraham Lincoln—whom all personally loved, however politically alienated from him, a man who was free to all—now that that crime had brought a great angry threatening cloud on America, he (the speaker) gloried in it. He wished to have the whole of the cloud, the whole of the anger, for he believed it would require all the lightnings in that cloud to purify the country from its former miasmas and evils. He did not wish any shaft raised to direct the lightning, the anger, from its true object. He did not wish the American wrath to be visited on a worm, on a man caught running off to a swamp in crinoline. He would not have him lifted out of his crinoline into the dignity of a John Brown. He would not have him made a martyr. They had gone on in America thus far, and there had been nearly two score eminent men martyred for the behests of Slavery, others had been driven from their homes, and hundreds exiled from the South. But, thank God, pro-slavery never once yet had a single martyr for which the North was answerable. No man of the South who upheld Slavery had ever suffered in life or limb on account of his pro-slavery proclivities: the North had gone on step by step in her triumph, each step a grave for a limb of Slavery.

The resolution was carried with acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN stated to the meeting that he was unavoidably prevented staying any longer by another engagement. But before leaving them he must be allowed to say that he had had the greatest pleasure in presiding over a meeting which must be considered as one of the most important in the history of the Society.

Mr. BOWLY was requested to occupy the vacant chair, which having kindly consented to do, the Rev. Dr. STORRS was called upon to move the third resolution:

“That this Meeting, deeply impressed with the magnitude of the responsibilities which rest upon the American people, in relation to the actual condition of the Freedmen, and deeming it of the highest importance that, in addition to such material aid as may be necessary to minister to their more immediate personal necessities, the means should be promptly provided of securing for them such an education as shall better

fit them for the discharge of their social duties, and for the intelligent exercise of those civil rights to which, by their emancipation from chattel-Slavery, they become justly entitled, in common with their fellow-citizens, would express its satisfaction at the formation of Freedmen's-Aid Societies in this country, to co-operate with those in the United States of America, and would cordially commend them to the sympathy and generous support of all classes of the community: and further, the present Meeting would, with an especial view to concerted action, empower the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* to take up this work to the utmost extent of their ability."

He said, after the words which had fallen from the Chairman, as well as for the reason which prompted them, it would hardly do for him to venture upon more than a very brief support of the resolution. When he stood in the presence of the legitimate heirs of the glory of the deeds and influence of the *Anti-Slavery Society* of England—he being almost a novice in this great work—when he measured his brief services with those of men who had laboured in it for years, he could hardly summon courage to say a single word. But the resolution so perfectly commended itself to his heart and to his judgment, and was based upon so great necessities, that he was not permitted to be wholly silent if he would. Four millions of enfranchised men and women rose up to-day before the Christian public of England and America, asking for such recognition as their needs demanded—asking for recognition as men and women—a recognition never hitherto vouchsafed to them, and only tardily given them even in this hour of triumph on their behalf. We beheld them as yet bearing upon their front the marks of a degrading Slavery. They stood before us with brows compressed, with eyes dull for want of vision—the spiritual, intellectual vision; with faces hardly yet aglow with inward aspirations; men and women hardly yet capable of those moral and spiritual achievements which entitled us to be called men and women. They asked, however, for recognition as such, if beneath all surface improvement there lay within them the power of lofty humanity—the power to express themselves when time and occasion served in noble achievements, and a glowing history. Four millions! It was no slight cause for which he pleaded. They asked not merely recognition, but such recognition as expressed itself in divine love and works; such recognition as took those who were cast down by the hand to lift them up; those that were encrusted over with ignorance and debasement, to give them the true enfranchisement and the enlargement which pertained to the sons of God. They asked for such blessings from us as it was in the power of humanity to bestow. He was sure that the English community, represented by this audience, would not be slow in furnishing a proper answer to such a request. Emancipation in America had not come by chance: it

was the ripened fruit of seed sown long, long ago, carefully nurtured and guarded from destruction by Divine Providence, and now, in due season, brought to its full harvest. English hands sowed the seed broadcast over the world—broadcast over the American continent, and in the furrows which the harrow, man, had made through the land, the seed had sprung up quickly, and the harvest had been quickened by Divine Providence. If this had all come about in the ordering of Providence, and not by chance, by the ever-watching and determined providence of a loving God, who had had pity for the poor down-trodden race, he then frankly said—although perhaps he should be wholly at variance with the views of his audience—that he believed in war. That was, he believed, when a mob raised a cry and threatened violence, Government was bound to suppress the mob. He believed that when any class or institution in a nation raised the hand of violence against the life of the Government, in order to acquire full swing and power against millions of men and women, it was the duty of the Government to assemble its forces and hurl down the malcontents with such crushing might as utterly to destroy the threatened insurrection for ever out of the land; and this in the great interest of humanity, for Government must be preserved. And when, as in the American nation, a class and an institution rose up with long preconcerted conspiracy to destroy Government and liberty, he held that the sword was not to be borne in vain; that even as a Christian duty it lay upon the nation to vindicate the cause of God by the force with which He had entrusted the nation. So then, while it was not within the compass of national privilege to use force, to take the first steps and move forward on the path of war of its own choice, it was within the compass of the nation, when the cause of Government and liberty were threatened and placed in jeopardy, to summon the loyal forces of the North, and hurl them in one destroying mass over the plains of the South, until the fearful rebellion was crushed and the slaves set free. He held these views, and he thought, at the bottom of their hearts, even the most earnest lovers of peace agreed with him. (Cries of "Question.") He was putting the question in a practical way, and he wished to put it in such a way that they would give in their adhesion before the close of his remarks.

MR. ALBRIGHT: I rise to order. I do think, as a point of order, the question to which the gentleman is now speaking is not within the scope of the resolution. It is a most interesting question, I have no doubt, but I do not think it lies within the four corners of the resolution.

DR. STORRS: I think, if you will give me the liberty, I shall be able to shew that it does lie within the resolution.

ROBERT ALSOP rose to order, observing that they were not there to discuss the question of the lawfulness of war.

THE CHAIRMAN: Although holding views contrary to the speaker, I feel it my duty to allow fair

play in a public meeting, but I would appeal to the speaker whether there be not sufficient ground on which we all unite without introducing that upon which we differ, and differ very strongly. I would therefore ask him to confine his remarks to the question embodied in the resolution, which is a question on which I think we most of us agree, and not touch upon the subject upon which some of us are so very sensitive.

Dr. STORRS: I thank you Mr. Chairman, and I will do it. I was not travelling out of the record of the argument, though it may have seemed so to you. My argument lies in this: Divine Providence and the Divine word bring before you to-day this mass of men whom Divine Providence has placed in this condition of enfranchised men and women. Divine Providence, overruling the wrath of man that it should praise Him in the result—breaking the shackles and fetters from off these limbs by the fearful hand which it has pleased Him to employ—it is, as I said, no chance thing. I wish to base my appeal on the fact that God has brought this great work upon us; that it is not chance, nor man, nor the blind operation of the laws of nature, but a divine and holy God, on whose agency and aid we may calculate in order to accomplish, even to the end, what we have before us. I say, then, the enfranchisement of these people, which has been born out of the agonies of war, that Divine providence brings them before us, and presents them as the objects of our sympathy. They make appeal, therefore, for help, for recognition, on this great, broad foundation, and God has brought them into the place where they are. First, by the hands of wicked men they were stolen from Africa, borne across the seas, and planted in conditions of Slavery. By the providence of God, and under his hand, they were held there; and by the wrath of man, for two long centuries, they have been undergoing a divine education for this their hour of freedom. And now, by the same Divine hand, which I trust will work to the same end in every part of the known world, they are set free; and I say they are set free for a divine object. Trace back history, and there you will find the steps of a divine leader. Humanity never wanders in its progress from the path marked out for eternity. From the beginning of the history of man till now, it may seem to some that we grope our way in darkness, but above all there is the Divine eye forecasting the destiny of man, pointing out the path on which man is pressed to his consummate triumph. Now, then, by the providence of God these millions have been placed before us for some good purpose. What is that? It is a purpose that concerns not merely the American nation, nor the oppressed in Cuba and Brazil, nor the interests of labour everywhere in Europe, but the great continent of Africa, and the descendants of the third son of Noah. Shem, early in history, under Divine teaching, wove the various schemes of religion which had been held by men, and all the religions which are held at this day had their birth in the teeming brain of Shem. When Shem had thus inoculated mankind in religious ideas he was removed from off the platform of history, and Japhet stepped forward, and

till this day Japhet has held his place, with his science, and inventions, and discoveries, subsidizing all material interests and forces for the uses of mankind; but never yet in history has Ham had any place. The hour, however, is now coming when the sons of Ham will take their place. Then out of that chaos of Africa, teeming with a population undiscovered and unknown through all ages, Africa will sweep forward, as Asia and Europe had done, to occupy her legitimate place in the history of mankind. That that great end may be accomplished God is now on the plains of America, with the South preparing a chosen people to vindicate the possibilities and capabilities of the African race; and when these are vindicated, to send them as Missionaries broadcast upon the grand theatre of Africa, to accomplish the evangelization of Africa. Thus Shem, Japhet, and Ham, by the blessing of the Divine Spirit resting on all Missionary labour, raising up a trinity in unity, will sing the one song, and the world will belong to God. But for that great and glorious consummation what labour is needed! what instruction in industrial arts, to communicate the fruit of ages of toil, and skill, in all the means of subsidizing nature! This is the work we have before us—a work grand and momentous enough to command the sympathies, affections, and energetic efforts of all good men the world over. This was the line of argument I meant to pursue, and this is the conclusion I meant to come to in the enforcement of the resolution which has been placed in my hands. These four millions of enfranchised beings now have a claim on your affectionate regard and practical interest. I might rest my case on the one great outline of past and present history, on this scheme of the Divine, unfolding as it is slowly to us in the progress of time. A single word more and I have done. I appeal to you as an American that loves his country, as one who knows how greatly the interests of the country are bound up in the successful issue of this practical experiment of liberty through which we are now passing; also as one of those Anglo-Saxons on whom the Divine Providence has rested so large a portion of the responsibility for the world's good.

The Hon. C. C. LEIGH, Delegate from the National Freedmen's Aid Commission, New York, was next called upon. He said:

For the last three years I have been intimately and personally acquainted with the works of the various Freedmen's Societies among the freedmen of the South. I have visited them from camp to camp, and seen them in their utter destitution. They have stretched out their hands to me, and said, in the most moving and sympathetic terms, "When you return to the North plead our necessities; send us garments to clothe our children; send us medicine to heal the diseased; send us agricultural implements, that we may cultivate the soil." I told them I would, and I went back to my countrymen, and I went from house to house, and from city to city, and in pursuance of my promise I have come here to Old England. And I tell you, my friends, I am determined to know nothing among you but the poor people—the poor black man and his sufferings. I do not come as a poli-

tician; I do not come merely as an American; but I come as a humanitarian. I see distress and I see ignorance, and I see the greatest destitution; and as for those little lines, those little bounds the nations have set up, called national divisions, the big heart of humanity swells over them, and wherever we find distress we have a right to go and help. "Am I my brother's keeper?" was the language of the first murderer, but the spirit of Christianity was the spirit of the good Samaritan, knowing no bounds of nationalities, but wherever suffering was there the good Samaritan went. The spirit of the resolution, if I understood it, is the spirit of your Anti-Slavery Society—the very essence of it. Here, in this Society, if I understand its history correctly, and I believe I do, the great sentiment was uttered, that Slavery is a crime against man and a sin against God; and so it was first promulgated in this tangible form. It went from this great kingdom, and it disturbed those old laws of Parliament; it broke off the shackles from all your slaves, and it disturbed the rights of the aristocracy, those vindictive enemies to freedom in other countries; it disturbed the rights of our good brethren in the United States, and they were very wrath at it. But we had a good company of hardy reformers, who went in advance. They took up this cry of yours, and promulgated it through the Republic, that Slavery was a crime against humanity and a sin against God. It disturbed the consciences of our Christians; it operated upon our rulers; it brought State after State in opposition to Slavery, and the friends of peace and constitutional Government, and the friends of Christianity and good order, sought by the same promulgation to overthrow, without bloodshed, Slavery; and they would have accomplished it, but those gentlemen at the South, with their far-seeing keen eye, discovered that this simple and constitutional working of our Republic would inevitably cast out this demon; and in order to save themselves and their property, and their accursed institution, they made war against the Republic and against the Union: it was for this and for nothing else. Now, what is the result? Why, it is another exemplification of that declaration of our Saviour, "that he that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword." Slavery is dead in the United States. Well, now, four millions of human beings under the workings of this system, ground down to the lowest line of political and mental inferiority, having all the imbecility of little children, are suddenly emancipated, and have suddenly thrown upon them the responsibilities of freemen; old men and old women, that have not had the opportunity to provide in youth for old age; orphan children, and others worse than orphans, having no natural protectors; men and women, feeble and imbecile, they claim the sympathies of the civilized world. It is not in the power of humanity, under these circumstances, for the millions suddenly to take upon themselves all the responsibilities, and provide for all the necessities of their pressing and urgent wants. What has been the cause of their present wants? Clearly, logically, and certainly, it is the promulgation of that glorious truth of yours; that Slavery is a crime against man and a sin against

God. You have handed that down to your children as a glorious legacy; but, now, since you find the fruits of it full grown, we must not, we cannot, we dare not, as Englishmen and Christians, and lovers of humanity, throw off the responsibility. I know, as an American, you won't—I feel you won't. What you have before done is proof positive. I will not detain you further. I have got ever so much to say; and if you will give me invitations to come to your various towns I will say it. I cannot impose upon you a lengthy speech in this crowded and suffocating hall. But you may ask, are these freedmen worthy of your sympathy? Yes, they are. They have been protected and encouraged in their industry: they have laboured most assiduously. I have witnessed it myself. Where we first tried the experiment in the Sea Islands of South Carolina, where the freed people were unmolested by the guerillas and the tramp of our armies, they have proved a very industrious peasantry indeed. I was among them on several occasions; and although the able-bodied men were conscripted, or, from voluntary choice, went into the army, none being left to till the soil but the aged women and children, such are their habits and industry, that you see them out in the morning at dawn of day, cultivating with laborious toil their fields of cotton, potatoes, rice, and corn; and they profit by their industry—they gather gold by their industry; and when a sale of those lands took place, a year and a half ago, in some individual cases, they bought their masters' plantations. I saw them happy on these plantations, and a number of them cultivating them with all the energy, zeal, and enterprise of freemen. In Unceville, Alabama, there are from 2000 to 2300 negroes self-supporting. But in other places it is not so. The tramp of our armies, the ploughshare of ruin, has gone everywhere. Whenever they attempt to put in their corn or potatoes the guerillas come in, and shoot down the workmen, and destroy their crops, so that they had no heart to work; and up to the present time they have gone on without cultivating their crops. With reference to the schools, we have got in the city of Charleston, which has come into our possession, 3500 children already in the schools there. We have day schools, and Sabbath schools, and evening schools. We have them for the young and for the old; and all classes of them rush to the school-house, eager to learn. I cannot understand it, and the teachers cannot understand it, that black boys and girls should come to the school with so much earnestness. I know how it is with my children: they go to school unwillingly; and I believe it is so with the children of all white people; but not so with the blacks. The hon. gentleman concluded by saying the cause of education was safe in the black man's hands.

Mr. ALBRIGHT said he had been very unexpectedly called upon to speak, and he supposed the only reason was that he was very familiar with one branch of the resolution, that part relating to freedmen's aid work. He would confine himself simply to saying that the seed which had been sown for the freedmen, was beginning to bear fruit, and he recommended the movement to the general support of his countrymen.

He hoped the *Anti-Slavery Society* would help forward the work, so that the great harvest in store might not be lost.

The Rev. ELIAS SCHREAK, Agent of the Basle Missionary Society, West Africa, moved the fourth Resolution :

"That whilst this Meeting deplores the continuation of the African slave-trade to Cuba and Turkey, and regards it as only the natural consequence of the existence of Slavery in those countries, it nevertheless rejoices that there is evidence of its diminution, and considers that the momentous events of the past year are of a nature greatly to encourage the friends of humanity; and especially that the prospective constitutional abolition of Slavery in the United States is calculated to exercise a most salutary influence in directing attention to the desirability of its speedy extinction in the Spanish colonies and in Brazil. In this connection it would express the satisfaction with which it has heard of the formation in Madrid, of the *Spanish Abolitionist Society*, and of the efforts which are being made in Brazil, to bring the question of emancipation under the notice of the Legislature. It would, by the present resolution, encourage the friends of the slave in those countries to pursue their philanthropic purpose, assured that their labours command the sympathies of all right-minded men, and that their principles must ultimately triumph."

His theme (he observed) was to regret the continuance of the African slave-trade to Cuba and Turkey. He would rather he had to rejoice, and the audience to rejoice with him. If he had to give this meeting a name, it should be Jubilee. It deserved the name. The Society had held many meetings, but never one like this: it could never speak of such great facts. The release of four millions of slaves! Was not that a great fact? Was it not such a fact as justified the name of Jubilee being given to this meeting? It was their bounden duty to rejoice before the Lord, and thank Him who had accomplished so much in so short a space of time. Nobody could have anticipated it. He had long known the names of those who had been before them in this great work—the fathers or the champions of the anti-slavery cause. They were gone to their rest. He could mention many of their names: they were well known. Many of them were not known to those present at the meeting, but they were known to the Lord. It was to young men that he wished especially to address himself. He had spoken of joy: they must rejoice, or they were not thankful to God. But what was the duty of young people? Was all done that could be done on behalf of the anti-slavery movement? Had the young men nothing left to do? He knew that many thought so. But they had heard by the resolution that such was not the case. There were still about 10,000 negroes exported from the West Coast of Africa annually.

They did not know how many were exported from the East Coast. Consequently there remained something to be done. But many persons might answer, "Well, it will soon be done." He agreed with them: it would soon be done: it would soon be done in Cuba, but how soon in Africa? He hoped and believed it would not be long. He thought what had taken place in America would influence the whole world. The ground upon which he stood, however, was the Bible—that great principle written by our Lord Himself in every man's heart and every man's conscience. All men were not what the Anthropological Society told us. We were one family, and not ten or twenty or thirty races. We lived in times when God, with his mighty hand, had gone so far, that, against all the resistance of man, He would make free the African race. That was his (the speaker's) opinion, and the ground on which he took his stand. Many people were doing their best to teach the world that the negroes could not be educated—that Christianity was no religion for the negroes. They had heard it again and again during the last few weeks. Slavery did not consist in outward chains: it existed in the mind and heart of man. If all the slaves in the world were at once made bodily free, there would still remain a great work to be done—a work in which they could all join. As long as they were not educated they were all slaves in their minds. This would be such an enormous work in America, that they could not leave the Americans to do it all themselves. It was not their work, it was God's work, to bring the Gospel to the whole mass of the people. When the negro race had got that in their hearts—when they became enlightened through the knowledge of the Saviour, then the time might come when they would go back to Africa, and carry the Gospel to their heathen brethren.

The Rev. Dr. WADDINGTON seconded the resolution. He said that in 1859 he was in America, and attended a meeting before there was any idea of war, and one of the speakers remarked that American Slavery would go down in blood. He was very sensibly impressed at the time by the remark, and it had literally come true. Slavery had gone down in blood, but it had gone up in another way. What he was now concerned about was the honour of England. God grant that we should never go down in our anti-slavery tendencies. He wanted to say, in the presence of Dr. Storrs, and of the Secretary who read that warlike report at the commencement of the meeting, that the sword might destroy, but could never create. The liberties of this country were never won by the sword, for this reason, liberty had to do with the heart. Force might be opposed to force, craft to craft, and policy to policy; but if they were to emancipate, and elevate, and strengthen, and conquer, they must have the love that came down from Him who was King of kings, and Lord of lords. Apart from all distracting questions, he was deeply concerned, for the honour of England, that we should not lose our moral strength. During the last four years that honour had been somewhat clouded; but let them look to what they were: let them go to the grand root of all, and see that nothing came of jealousy or selfish competition between nations.

The CHAIRMAN next called on Dr. Tomkins to support the Resolution.

Dr. TOMKINS said he felt quite disposed to have pity on the chairman and on the audience, but it would be a great pity if they would not accord him five minutes. If they were not disposed to listen to him he would address himself to the gentlemen representing the press. He had come from a meeting at the west-end of the town, much larger, and much more enthusiastic, he imagined, than this. (Loud cries of No! no!) He was glad to hear the Chairman say "No, no." He had been speaking for one hour upon this important question, and this was such a day, such an hour, such an anniversary, and the time of the evening was only nine o'clock, that he felt he must yet say something to to-night. While there remained fifty good friends of the Society to hear him, he should speak with the respect for the behests of the Chairman and the wishes of the audience, which was due from him and every other gentleman who came there to address them. The Rev. Mr. Schrenk had brought before their attention the fact that 10,000 of their fellow-men were reduced year by year to the abject condition of Slavery. Now no one knew the misery of that condition but those who had lived in the midst of it, as he had done. No one knew what it meant unless he had been in those States where the horrors of Slavery were perpetrated. There was another fact: this anniversary might well be pronounced as the jubilee of this Society, for it could proclaim, through the mercy of God, four millions of men free. He placed these two facts side by side, and he felt, on the one hand, that they had reason to thank God, and take courage; on the other, that their work was not yet done. One word with regard to the Rev. Mr. Schrenk. Mr. Schrenk had come from the West Coast of Africa, where he discharged high and important ministerial duties. The other day he (Dr. Tomkins) had a conversation with Dr. Livingstone, who spoke with rapture of what the Missionaries had achieved for the African race. He said: "I look upon these Missionaries, and their willingness to suffer, their devotedness to their calling, their calmness in the midst of danger are remarkable." He believed no man had laboured on the West Coast of Africa since the first apostles and martyrs of the cross finished their work. Mr. Schrenk belonged to that sacred band, and his remarks shewed that he possessed the true Missionary spirit—the spirit of the apostles. He (Dr. Tomkins) wished also to say, in addition to what his friend the Hon. Mr. Leigh had said—he spoke upon this point because he had noticed leading articles in the press betraying a lingering feeling as to what would become of the African race in the United States—to say that it had been his lot to have much to do with the coloured people of America. While residing in that country, he had coloured servants living in his family for many years, and he saw them, therefore, day by day, week by week, and year by year. He had trained five for the office of the ministry, others for schoolmasters. He was sorry to observe this

lurking sentiment in the public press of this country: it would be a bane and plague to the American people, as a similar circumstance in regard to the Irish had been a bane and plague to the people of this country. He spoke of the black population. True, some of them were as black as ebony, but a great number had literally the best blood of Virginia and South Carolina coursing in their veins. They had a wonderful faculty for acquiring knowledge especially of some branches of knowledge. The boys and girls, and the young people generally, and even old people, manifested an intense desire to learn geography, not got up by rote, but with an evident understanding of what they learn. Thank God, they had good teachers: the fairest ladies of New York had gone down to their encampments or stations, not for the teacher's fee, but many of them bearing their own expenses, and engaged themselves in the blessed work of teaching those poor souls geography, spelling, and writing. In many instances the negroes advanced so rapidly that they had had to be taken out of the lower or elementary schools, and taught still higher branches of knowledge. When, in February last, he was with the Hon. Mr. Leigh in Virginia, they found 500 adults learning their lessons in a large Wesleyan chapel. He went from class to class, and examined almost every class. He was surprised at them. Some were only learning their alphabet, others had got into the First Reader, others the Second, others the Third; some were intent upon the easy parts of the Gospel, and a few had reached the Epistles. To one old man he remarked, "You will soon know all God's truth in the brighter and better world." "Yes, massa," he said, "I know dat, but I want to know all I can of God's blessed book in dis world." He had a specimen of the writing of a boy who had only been at school twelve weeks. Some of the letters were formed with inimitable precision and accuracy. He submitted it to a schoolmaster at one of the west-end establishments, who assured him that he had known very few lads pass through his hands who could write any thing like it in the same length of time. The letter which contained the writing was moreover couched in tender language, and there was running through it the sweet pathos which was peculiar to the utterances of the African race. And yet by *quasi* philosophers we were asked to believe those people were nothing better than a race of monkeys, to be compared only with the brute creation, those people whose religious instincts were love to Christ and his cross. Were those people to be compared with the brutes that perished? No, they belonged to the race of the human kind, whom the great God loved with ineffable tenderness, for whom Christ died, and for whom Christ is risen. There was one other remark, and it was in regard to the willingness of these people to work. He was at the battle of Kington, South Carolina, while the battle was going on. Five thousand black men and women came into the camp. He called a group of them aside, and said, "There are those who say that you will not work." One of them answered, "I think they will find themselves mistaken. For forty

years I have been a slave, and I have supported myself and my master; I think now that I am free I can support myself. Was that the language of a brute? Let him diverge for a moment, and speak of the good man whose life and whose death would remain as a memento and as a moral for the coming ages, Abraham Lincoln. On the 27th of February last, Mr. Leigh and himself spent the greater part of the day with Abraham Lincoln. He had to convey a message from this city—the bearer of a letter from Benjamin Scott, the Chamberlain of London. He had to ask for special assistance from the Secretary of War and Mr. Lincoln to restore twenty-three fellow-countrymen—Englishmen—reduced to a state of bondage. They had been taken out of an English vessel at Charleston eleven years ago, and placed in prison according to the State law of South Carolina. For some reason the master of the vessel engaged a fresh crew, and left these poor men behind; and while Englishmen at home sang proudly "Rule Britannia, Britannia rules the waves, Britons never shall be slaves," twenty-three of their countrymen were absolutely slaves in South Carolina. Mr. Stanton, whom he saw first, gave him a letter to General Saxton, who was in command of the armies in the neighbourhood of Charleston, directing him to place all the military power of the State at his (Dr. Tomkins's) command, in order to recover those for whom he was in search. That was before Richmond fell. He mentioned to the President what Mr. Stanton had done, and presented to him the City Chamberlain's letter. Some parts the noble President read a second time. He said he highly approved of what Mr. Stanton had done, and if any thing could be done further which was in his power, or the power of the Government, it should be done. He (Mr. Tomkins) had occasion to complain to him of the way in which he thought a certain black woman had been treated. "My policy," the President said, is to manumit the slaves in large numbers." He pointed to

what he had achieved in Maryland; and well he might point there, for in the city of Baltimore alone there was one school comprising 700 children, and the coloured people had assessed themselves to pay for its maintenance. He pointed also to what he was endeavouring to effect in Louisiana, and he said, "When we have manumitted the slaves in large numbers, we shall then be able to deal with exceptional cases. My mind," he added, "would be diverted from the policy of emancipation which I have inaugurated, and which, please God, I intend to carry out." He (Dr. Tomkins) made allusion to the closing part of the President's address—that address which historians and politicians would remember, and which would be recorded in heaven; he referred to that part of the address which stated clearly that if men were to be returned to Slavery after being once set free, then some one else must be called to sanction such odious work, for he would never do it. "You don't read these words," the President said, "with more pleasure than I wrote them, and I don't see any reason at this moment why I should revoke a single word or a single sentence." Regarding the charge of idleness alleged against the black population, Dr. Tomkins stated that General Grant had assured him that for watchfulness they were not to be excelled in the whole Northern army, and for assault and dash there were no troops equal to them. These were attributes which belonged to the highest class of manhood. In conclusion, Dr. Tomkins appealed to the sympathies of his audience on behalf of the cause of the Society.

The Resolution was carried with unanimity.

Mr. CHAMEROVZOW moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which having been seconded, the CHAIRMAN acknowledged the compliment, and the proceedings closed.

BALANCE SHEET TO 31st OF DECEMBER 1864.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance at Banker's, 1st Jan. 1864	70	13	8	Printing	30	16	8
DONATIONS:				Stationery	34	9	1
<i>General</i>	£727	8	10	Advertisements	19	7	5
<i>August Offerings</i>	80	10	5	Public Meeting	6	11	0
<i>Legacy, late Hannah Wise</i>	10	0	0	Postage and Carriage	56	15	7
<i>Special, for Fugitives</i>	3	0	0	Salaries	351	18	10
				Rent	179	15	7
				Travelling Expenses	105	18	3
Annual Subscriptions	820	19	3	Newspapers, Translations, &c.	22	4	5
<i>Anti-Slavery Reporter</i>	536	19	0	<i>Anti-Slavery Reporter</i>	201	1	4
Rent	38	14	7	Repaid advance by member of Committee	100	0	0
Income Tax off Rent	112	10	0	Fugitives	19	5	9
				Balance at Banker's	454	1	3
	£1582	5	2		£1582	5	2

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.—1864.

Donations.	Ann. Sub.		Donations.	Ann. Sub.
£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Alexander, G. W. paid in by	1 19 11		August Offerings:	
Alexander, G. W. Esq.,			Jamaica, per Rev. W.	
Reigate	26 5 0		Alloway	1 0 0
Alexander, Miss S. A., ditto		1 1 0	Whitefield Porus, Manchester, Jamaica, per	
Alexander, Miss E. B., ditto		1 1 0	Rev. A. Lindo	3 3 0
Alexander, F., Woodbridge		0 10 0	Turks' Island, Bahamas, per Rev. W. K.	
Alexander, Mrs. F., ditto		0 10 0	Rycroft	0 18 0
Allen, Elizabeth, Liskeard		0 10 0	Montego Bay, Jamaica, per Rev. J. R. Reid	1 10 0
Alsop, Robert, Stoke Newington		2 0 0	Montego Bay Auxiliary, Jamaica, per Rev. J.	
Alsop, C., Maldon, for			E. Henderson	16 0 0
<i>Fugitive Slaves</i>	3 0 0		Bethlephiel, per Rev. G.	
Annual Meeting, collection at	2 9 11		R. Henderson	3 12 1½
Armistead, Mary, Amble-side	5 0 0		Montego Bay, per Rev.	
Armistead, Wilson, Leeds	5 0 0		J. E. Henderson	3 9 0
Ashby, Thomas, Staines	5 0 0	1 1 0	Hayes, per Rev. R. A.	
Ashby, Frederic, ditto		10 0 0	Ducket	2 10 0
A. W. H., Barbadoes	1 1 0		Spanish Town, Jamaica, per Rev. J. M. Phil-ippo	4 0 0
August Offerings:			Fearn Station, Barbice, per Rev. A. Jansen	1 19 10
Smith's Church, Demerara, per Rev. E. A. Wallbridge	1 0 0		Jericho and Mount Hermon, Jamaica, per	
Brown's town, Jamaica, per Rev. John Clark	3 0 0		Rev. James Hume	6 0 0
Rev. John Clark	1 1 0			
	£54 16 10	16 13 0		£98 18 9½ 16 13 0

	Donations.			Ann. Sub.				Donations.			Ann. Sub.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
	98	18	9	16	13	0		193	1	4	108	14	6
August Offerings:							B. J.						
Trinidad, per Rev. John Horsford, D.D.	5	0	0				Boardman, Clement, Cheltenham	0	10	0			
Falmouth, per Rev. J. E. Henderson	2	16	4½				Bottomley, John, Birmingham				2	0	0
Lucea, per ditto	2	10	0				Bottomley, George, Bradford				0	5	0
Alps, per ditto	3	0	0				Boys, Jacob, Brighton				1	1	0
Salter's Hill, per ditto	1	0	9				Braithwaite, J. B., London	2	2	0			
Mount Nebo, per ditto	0	14	6				Braithwaite, Charles L, Kendal				1	0	0
Mount Carey, per ditto	1	5	0				Bransby, Newton, Alton				1	10	0
Hayes, per ditto	1	6	8				Briscoe, John I., Esq., M.P., London	10	0	0			
East Coast Mission House, Plaisance Village, Demerara, per Rev. Joseph Hamilton	1	14	0				Brown, Potto, Houghton				1	1	0
The Wesleyan Church, Gonaives, Hayti, per Rev. Benjamin L. Pierre	3	0	0				Brown, Henry, Youghal				0	2	6
The Baptist Chapel, Nassau, Bahamas, per Rev. John Davey	5	0	0				Bryant, William, Kingston-on-Thames	10	0	0			
Belle Castle, St. Thomas-in-the-East, Jamaica, per Rev. Henry B. Harris	2	0	0				Burchett, J. R., Upper Woburn Place				2	2	0
Savanna-la-Mar, Jamaica, per Rev. John Clarke	4	16	0				Burder, Rev. John, Clifton				1	1	0
The Tabernacle, Kingston, Jamaica, per G. W. Gordon, Esq.	2	0	0				Buxton, the Dowager Lady, North Repps Hall	25	0	0			
							Buxton, Charles, M.P., London				50	0	0
Backhouse, K., Darlington				1	0	0	Cadbury, John, Birmingham				1	0	0
Backhouse, Edward, ditto	5	0	0				Cadbury, B. H., ditto				0	10	0
Backhouse, James, York				0	10	0	Cadbury, James, Banbury				0	10	0
Backhouse, Edward, Sunderland (2 years)				20	0	0	Candler, John, Chelmsford				0	10	6
Baker, Joseph, N. Shields				0	2	6	Carr, Chief Justice, Sierra Leone				3	3	0
Baker, George, Birmingham				2	0	0	Cash, Mrs. S.M., Peckham				1	1	0
Baker, J. E., ditto				2	0	0	Cash, A. L., ditto	0	0	7			
Ball, William, Rydal				4	4	0	Cash, William, Peckham Rye				2	2	0
Banbury Ladies' Association	3	0	0				Chance, R. L., Birmingham	10	0	0			
Barclay, Henry F., Walthamstow	5	0	0				Charleton, Robert, Bristol	15	15	0	3	3	0
Barclay, Joseph G., London				50	0	0	Charleton, Eliz., ditto				1	1	0
Bassett, John D., Leighton Buzzard	10	0	0	2	2	0	Cirencester Auxiliary, per T. Brewin	6	0	0			
Beaumont, William, Newcastle-on-Tyne				2	2	0	Clark, Alderman J., Southampton				0	10	6
Bell, James, Keswick				2	0	0	Crabb, James R., ditto				0	5	0
Bell, Shepherd, Alton				1	0	0	Cropper, James, Kendal				4	0	0
Bell, the Misses, ditto				1	0	0	Cropper, John, Esq., Liverpool				20	0	0
Bevan, Paul, Tottenham	5	0	0				Crosfield, John, Ambleside				1	1	0
Bewley, Henry, Dublin				2	0	0	Cruikshank, Edward, Edinburgh				0	5	0
Binns, Thomas, Tottenham				1	1	0	Curtis, William, Alton				0	10	0
Binns, Henry, Sunderland				1	0	0	Danson, George, Manchester	5	0	0	0	10	0
Birkbeck, E. L., Norwich	10	0	0				Darby, Mrs. A., Stanley Hall				1	1	0
Birmingham Ladies' Negroes' Friend Society, per M. Cadbury	20	0	0				Darby, Lucy, Coalbrookdale				1	1	0
							Dawson, Mrs., Exeter				0	5	0
							Davis, Joseph, Bristol	2	0	0			
							Dickinson, Rev. W. W., King's Lynn				1	1	0
							Dickinson, Henry, Coalbrookdale				1	1	0
	£193	1	4	108	14	6		£280	8	11	213	8	0

Donations. Ann. Sub.					Donations. Ann. Sub.								
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		
280	8	11	213	8	0	457	2	11	251	9	6		
Dillwyn, Mrs., Bath			1	0	0	Gordon, G. W. Esq., Jamaica			1	0	0		
Doyle, James, Crimble-sham Hall	10	0	0	1	0	0	Gurney, Henry E., London		25	0	0		
Drewett, John, Tottenham	10	0	0				Hack, Daniel, P., Brighton	5	0	0	1	1	0
Dunlop, John, Duddington, near Edinburgh			4	4	0		Hadwen, Isaac, Liverpool				2	2	0
Ecroyd, William, Lomeshaye	10	0	0				Harris, Sarah, Bradford	10	0	0	0	10	0
Edinburgh Ladies' New Association, per L. Sturrock			1	0	0		Harris, Henry, ditto	10	10	0	1	0	0
Eliot, John S., Liskeard			0	10	0		Harris, Alfred, ditto				1	0	0
Eliot, Mary, ditto			0	5	0		Harris, Lydia, Peckham				1	1	0
Epps, Dr. John, London			1	0	0		Harris, John, Darlington	5	0	0			
Evans, S., and Sisters, Birmingham			2	0	0		Harvey, Thomas, Leeds	2	2	0	1	1	0
Evesham Ladies' Association	2	0	0				Helston Auxiliary, per W. C. Odgers				1	2	6
Exeter, collection at, per R. Hutchinson	0	13	0				Hicks, Charles, Stansted				1	0	0
Falmouth Ladies' Association, per S. A. Fox			1	1	0		Holmes, William, Alton				0	10	0
Fawens, Margaret, North Shields			0	10	0		Horniman, John, Croydon	10	0	0	0	10	6
Fell, John, Esq., Uxbridge	50	0	0	0	10	0	Hubbert, Rachel, Boeking				0	10	6
Fife, Stephen, Fernando Po			0	10	0		Isaac, John C., Liskeard				0	5	0
Finlay, James, St. John's Wood			1	1	0		Jesup, James, Sudbury				0	10	0
Firth, Joseph, High Flatts, Huddersfield	5	0	0				Jones, Mrs., Baschurch, near Shrewsbury				1	1	0
Fisher, Samuel H., Swansea	1	1	0				Jones, Rev. T., Blackheath				0	6	0
Fitzgerald, John P., Woodbridge			1	0	0		Jowitt, Benjamin, Leeds				1	1	0
Fletcher, Caleb, York			1	0	0		King, Samuel, Birmingham				1	0	0
Ford, H. R., Morecambe Lodge	1	0	0				King, Henry, Rochdale				5	0	0
Ford, E. S., ditto			3	0	0		Kitching, John, Stamford Hill	10	0	0			
Ford, C. D., ditto	1	0	0				Knight, John, Northfleet				5	0	0
Forster, William E., M.P., Bradford			1	0	0		Lawson, Jane				1	0	0
Forster, Robert, Tottenham			2	2	0		Letchworth, Thomas, Apsley Guise				1	0	0
Forth, Robert, North Shields			0	2	6		Letchworth, Thomas, jun., Apsley Guise				1	0	0
Foster, Mary, Truro			1	0	0		Liskeard Ladies' Association, per L. Allen				2	15	0
Fothergill, Miss Mary, Hensol Castle			2	0	0		Lister, Joseph Jackson, Upton House	15	0	0			
Fox, Anna, Bristol			1	1	0		Marett, Charles, Southampton				0	5	0
Fox, Samuel, Tottenham			1	0	0		Marsh, John, Dorking	5	0	0	1	0	0
Fox, Samuel, Nottingham	10	0	0				Marshall, Samuel, Kendal				0	6	0
Fox, R. W., Falmouth			5	5	0		Matthews, William, Earl's Colne				1	1	0
Fry, Richard, Bristol	10	0	0				Maw, Samuel, A., Needham Market	2	2	0			
Geade, Edward, Liskeard			0	5	0		McCauley, S., Fernando Po				0	10	0
Gibbins, Joseph, Birmingham	25	0	0	4	0	0	Merrick, Josiah, near Manchester				1	0	0
Gibson, George Stacey, Saffron Walden	20	0	0				Moor, Rev. E., Great Bealings				0	10	0
Gibson, Deborah, ditto	20	0	0				N. B.	5	0	0			
Glyde, Mrs., Exeter			1	0	0		Newman, W. H., Southampton				0	5	0
Glyde, Miss, ditto			0	5	0		Norton, William, Woodbridge	5	0	0	0	10	0
Goodbody, Jonathan, Clara, Ireland	1	0	0				Norton, Mrs. W., ditto				0	10	0
£157	2	11	251	9	6		£541	16	11	314	2	6	

Donations. Ann. Sub.						Donations. Ann. Sub.					
£ s. d.			£ s. d.			£ s. d.			£ s. d.		
541 16 11			314 2 6			738 16 11			395 17 0		
Norton, Thomas, Peckham						Silver, Miss, Woodbridge,					
Rye			10 0 0						0 5 0		
Norris, William, Coalbrookdale						Sims, William D., Ipswich					
			0 5 0						5 5 0		
Norris, William G., ditto						Smith, B., Thirsk					
			0 5 0						1 0 0		
Nutter, William, Birmingham						Smithson, George, Birmingham					
			2 0 0						2 0 0		
Palk, Alderman E., Southampton						Southall, William, ditto					
			0 10 6						2 0 0		
Pease, Joseph, Darlington						Spence, Joseph, York					
			50 0 0						1 1 0		
Pease, Edward, Esq., ditto						Spence, John F., North Shields					
10 0 0									0 5 0		
Pease, Henry, M.P., ditto						Spence, Joseph, ditto					
10 10 0			3 0 0						0 10 0		
Pease, John, Esq., ditto						Stansfield, John, Bradford					
20 0 0			3 0 0						0 5 0		
Pease, T., Henbury, near Bristol						Stansfield, Mary, ditto					
			1 1 0						0 5 0		
Peckover, Algernon, Esq., Wisbech						Stephens, Anna, Bridport					
10 0 0						0 10 0					
Peckover, William, Esq., ditto						Sterry, Mrs., Hertford					
25 0 0									1 1 0		
Peckover, Daniel, Esq., near Leeds						Sterry, Joseph, Peckham					
10 0 0									1 1 0		
Peek, Richard, Kingsbridge						Sterry, Henry, London					
5 5 0									6 6 0		
Peek, James, Eastcheap						Sturge, Daniel, London					
			3 3 0			10 0 0					
Pollard, William, Esq., Hertford						Sturge, Thomas, Northfleet					
50 0 0						25 0 0					
Priestman, John, Bradford						Sturge, George, near Gravesend					
			1 0 0			10 0 0					
Proctor, Joseph, North Shields						Sturge, Charles, Birmingham					
			0 10 0						4 0 0		
Proctor, J. R., ditto						Sturge, Edmund, ditto					
			0 10 0						2 2 0		
Randall, E.M., Southampton						Tatham, Mary Anne, Leeds					
			0 5 0						1 0 0		
Ransome, Robert, Ipswich						Thomas, George, Bristol					
			5 5 0						100 0 0		
Rees, Jonathan, Neath						Thompson, Samuel, Fordingbridge					
			0 10 0						2 2 0		
Richardson, Mary, North Shields						Toll, Miss Lucy, Woodbridge					
			0 5 0						0 5 0		
Robson, Isaac, Huddersfield						Tuckett, Philip Debell, Frenchay					
			1 0 0						1 0 0		
Rosling, Samuel, Reading						Tweedy, Ann, Truro					
			3 3 0						1 0 0		
Rowntree, Sarah, York						Wainwright, Miss E., Woodbridge					
			1 1 0						0 5 0		
Rowntree, William, Scarborough						Wakefield Association, per W. Kitching					
2 0 0						0 12 4					
Rowntree, John, ditto						Walker, Robert, Leeds					
			1 0 0						0 10 0		
Ryley, Thomas C., Wigan						Webster, Rev. G. E., Grundisburgh					
20 0 0									0 10 0		
Saffron Walden Ladies' Association, per Ann Gibson						Wheeler, Frederic, Rochester					
4 5 0									1 0 0		
Scarr, Hannah, York						Wiffen, Benjamin, Woburn, a friend, per ditto					
			0 10 0			6 0 0					
Seekings, John R., Birmingham						Wilkey, Mrs., Exeter					
			2 0 0						0 5 0		
Sharples, Joseph, Esq., Hitchin						Williams, Dr., York					
20 0 0									1 1 0		
Shewell, Joseph, Colchester						Wilson, James, ditto					
			0 10 0						1 0 0		
Sidebottom, James, Manchester						Wilson (Brothers) Sunderland					
			1 1 0			20 0 0					
£738 16 11						£820 19 3					
			395 17 0						536 19 0		

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